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AUTHOR Howe, Florence; Lauter, Paul
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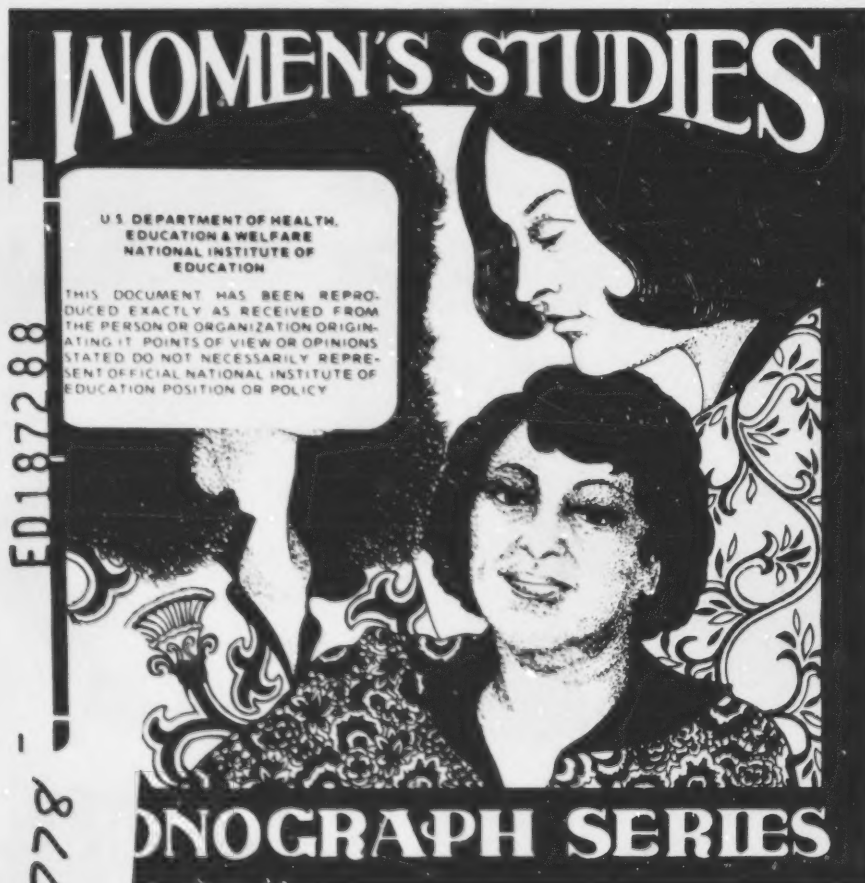
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ABSTRACT

The impact that the over 300 women's studies programs have had on the institutions that house them and on academic professional associations is studied in this monograph. It is based on a review of limited literature evaluating the impact of women's studies, as well as on materials from 119 women's studies programs, and some 57 professional societies, women's caucuses, and commissions. The major impact of women's studies is the establishment of a curricular unit, called a women's studies program, on a campus. The early emphasis on normative evaluation of these studies, the shift to formative evaluation, and the current context of evaluation are discussed. The formation and growth of professional women's groups and activities of groups surveyed are considered. Funding for the establishment of a longitudinal data base on women's studies is suggested. Recommendations on key issues in policy and research concern curriculum, faculty, institutionalization, and graduate study. A literature review, bibliography, and information on the University of Minnesota's Women's Studies Self Survey Report are included. (SW)

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The Impact of Women's Studies on the Campus & the Disciplines



The National
Institute of
Education

U.S. Department of
Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C. 20208



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The Impact of Women's Studies on the Campus and
the Disciplines

The Involvement of Minority Women in Women's
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THE IMPACT OF WOMEN'S STUDIES
ON THE CAMPUS AND THE DISCIPLINES

Florence Howe and Paul Lauter
State University of New York
College at Old Westbury

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Patricia Roberts Harris, Secretary

National Institute of Education
P. Michael Timpane, Acting Director
Program on Teaching and Learning
Lois-ellin Datta, Associate Director

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PREFACE

This monograph is part of a series of eight, commissioned by the National Institute of Education (NIE), following recommendations presented in Seven Years Later: Women's Studies Programs in 1976 by Florence Howe.

Seven Years Later was commissioned and published by the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs. It was the first federally financed investigation of women's studies. Howe visited and reported on 15 mature women's studies programs, in the context of national trends and directions within women's studies. She focused on some areas (funding and faculty, for example, in 4-year colleges and universities) and excluded others (community colleges, for example) entirely.

The eight new monographs take up some of the questions Howe explored; they also initiate explorations of untouched areas. All are concerned primarily with higher education.

Each monograph reviews literature relevant to its focus produced during this first decade of women's studies. Each also attempts to provide definition to a field in the process of development, a complex interdisciplinary area of scholarship and curriculum that is also a strategy for educational change. Beyond definition, each monograph recommends research essential for the future development of women's studies and important to educational research more broadly.

While producing these eight monographs, the researchers met for 2 days to compare perspectives and conclusions. As a group, we agreed to offer four formal recommendations to the National Institute of Education and to all other Federal agencies and private foundations that might pursue and support research and development in women's studies.

1. The need for future monographs. We recognize the importance of continuing the development of information about relatively unexplored aspects of women's studies. Among those aspects that need examination, the following are especially important:
 - a. Graduate programs and graduate education in women's studies.
 - b. Schools of education and women's studies activities.
 - c. Women's studies in the elementary and secondary schools.
 - d. Noncredit curriculum development in women's centers, continuing education for women, and community-based centers.
2. The need for a data base on women's studies. All eight monographs recommend the development of a data base on women's studies as a necessary prelude to research design and activity. Since women's studies has developed in different ways and at different rates on almost all campuses throughout the country, such a data base must be longitudinal in design. While we are recommending its development in higher education, such a data base eventually will need to be extended to all areas of education. We recommend that annual updates be built into the data base to ensure its proper maintenance and continued usefulness.
3. The qualifications of research personnel in women's studies. We believe that the distinctive and complex nature of women's studies, as well as the fact that it is still a developing field, makes it essential that researchers be thoroughly informed about

women's studies and be prepared to involve women's studies practitioners in every aspect of research design and process. We are hopeful that NIE and other Federal agencies, private foundations, and research institutions will place responsibility for research in women's studies in the hands of those experienced and knowledgeable about the area.

4. Considerations significant to evaluation research and methodology. We believe that the evaluation of women's studies in higher education will be an important activity of the coming decade. Such evaluation will serve the researcher interested in the processes of changing higher education, as well as those charged with administering institutions. Such evaluation should, on principle, also clearly serve the developmental needs of women's studies programs, engaging them in the design and processes of research, as well as in the determination of the uses to which research will be put. Evaluations should be conducted onsite, with the cooperation of program participants, and within a framework of longitudinal data about that program and others nationally. Researchers and evaluators should be sensitive to the work of the National Women's Studies Association in this regard, and its activities serving the needs of women's studies programs.

Detailed, further recommendations appear in each of the eight monographs.

We wish to express our appreciation to the National Institute of Education for pursuing this

research, and particularly to C.B. Crump, who directed the Women's Studies Planning Studies project.

Christine Bose
Kathryn Brooks
Margaret Eileenchild
Allana Elovson
Mareyjoyce Green
Blanche Glassman Hersh
Florence Howe
Paul Lauter
Elizabeth Ness Nelson
Nancy Porter
Janet Priest-Jones
Elaine Reuben
Mary Jo Strauss

SUMMARY

This monograph studies the impact that the over 300 women's studies programs have had on the institutions that house them and on academic professional associations. It is based on a review of the rather limited literature evaluating the impact of women's studies, as well as on materials from 119 women's studies programs and some 57 professional societies, women's caucuses, and commissions.

The primary impact of women's studies is the establishment of a curricular unit -- called a women's studies program -- on a campus. With or without a formal major, minor, or certificate, most programs offer as regular parts of the college curriculum an introductory, interdisciplinary course, as well as a variety of departmentally based and intermediate-level interdisciplinary courses. Many also offer advanced interdisciplinary courses, as well as field work and internships. Almost all programs provide opportunities for faculty, students, and staff -- and often community -- to share information, ideas, and concerns developed by feminist scholarship.

An increasing number of women's studies programs are now undergoing formal evaluations in connection with applications for permanent status, as part of regular internal college processes or accreditation procedures, or for other reasons. While programs themselves and generally the literature dealing with program evaluation emphasize "formative" evaluations designed to improve program performance and to develop strengths, in fact "normative" evaluations are of increasing importance in a period of cutbacks and choices between competing academic programs.

In general, women's studies programs have had high "productivity" ratings, with increasing enrollments, numbers of courses, and numbers of faculty interested in participating. But knowledge about

norms of scholarship, teaching, and public outreach appropriate to women's studies is not widely diffused among college administrators and evaluating committees; nor does an adequate longitudinal data base exist that might be useful for evaluation. Further, evaluations that focus on women's studies programs alone often fail to raise the question of whether, or in what respects, the institution as a whole is healthy for its women students.

While we have found a number of efforts to collect data on such matters as enrollments, budgets, governance, and space -- including two recent substantial dissertations -- almost all of these are cross-sectional. Longitudinal comparisons have not been sufficiently developed to allow the establishment of profiles of program growth. It is therefore difficult to determine whether observable features or activities of a program are the results of its impact over time, its age, its budget, peculiar local factors, or other causes. Only a few of the studies reviewed speak to the issue of the impact of women's studies on curricula, departments, requirements, and personnel decisions, much less to broader questions such as whether a changed curriculum could occur without the mediating effect of women's studies. Some of the most creative recent work centers on studying the status of women in the overall curriculum.

With respect to professional associations, the impacts produced by women's studies and by efforts to change the status of women are often indistinguishable. They have led to the establishment of new divisions or sections in professional associations; to formal bibliographies, often supported by the associations, and other means of sharing scholarship; to increasingly formal efforts to change traditional definitions of acceptable professional research, such as the development of nonsexist guidelines for language and research; and to clearly definable shifts in general areas of professional interest, notably among women scholars, but among at least some male

scholars as well. One also notes a slowly growing tendency among granting agencies, as well as among professional associations, to legitimize women's studies research and curriculum development through financial support. However, no formal literature assessing impact in this area has been developed.

We recommend funding for the establishment of a longitudinal data base on women's studies, including information in at least the following areas: enrollments; degrees and certificates granted; number, nature, and location of courses; faculty; program coordinators; support staff and space allocations; budget; library resources; governance; and outreach.

We also make a number of recommendations on key issues in policy and research. These include the following:

- o Establishment of a national archive of women's studies.
- o Encouragement of women's caucuses, commissions, and committees of professional associations to study the impacts of women's studies within their disciplines, including impact on texts and curriculum, especially of required and introductory departmental courses.
- o Replication of the study on the status of women in the curriculum.
- o Design, funding, and implementation of a curricular project at selected institutions to effect and to measure change in mainstream curricula, especially in introductory courses, to identify effective tactics in achieving such change, and to discover means for replicating it.
- o Development of a project, including a volume of essays, on the incorporation of women's studies as general education curriculum.

- o Compilation of a directory of women's studies faculty.
- o Funding of studies of the impact of women's studies on its faculty, especially with respect to status, research and scholarship, curriculum taught outside women's studies, and teaching methods.
- o Development of a survey of faculty members and administrators key to personnel decisions to determine the weight they attach to examples of professional work accomplished by women's studies practitioners.
- o Location of master's and doctoral students who define themselves as "in women's studies," and analysis of means they have devised to pursue graduate work in the area.

We underline the fact that most work in women's studies proceeds from the assumption that women's studies is not only a new area of curriculum and research, but a strategy for educational change as well.

Florence Howe
Paul Lauter
State University of New York
College at Old Westbury

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CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
PREFACE	111
SUMMARY	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
1. INTRODUCTION - SOME DEFINITIONS	1
Programs Versus Courses	4
Courses About Women	5
2. EVALUATION: THE WOMEN'S STUDIES PROGRAM AS IMPACT	7
Early Emphasis on Normative Evaluation	7
Shift to Formative Evaluation	8
Current Context of Evaluation	12
Evaluation of Minnesota Program	16
Summary	19
3. THE IMPACT OF WOMEN'S STUDIES ON THE CAMPUS: A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE	21
The Sources of Information	21
Survey of the Literature	24
Summary	38
4. THE IMPACT OF WOMEN'S STUDIES ON PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND THE TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES.	39
Formation and Growth of Professional Women's Groups	40
Activities of Groups Surveyed	42
Need for Multifaceted Study of Impact	47
Observations on the Future	55

CONTENTS
(Continued)

	<u>Page</u>
5. RECOMMENDATION: A LONGITUDINAL DATA BASE FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES	57
Need for Data Base	57
Items To Be Included in Longitudinal Data Base	60
6. RECOMMENDATIONS: KEY ISSUES IN POLICY AND RESEARCH	79
Recommendations on Curriculum	79
Recommendations on Faculty	84
Recommendations on Institutionalization	87
Recommendations on Graduate Study	90
Conclusion: Feminism and the Academy	92
APPENDIX: University of Minnesota Women's Studies Self Survey Report: Table of Contents and List of Program Objectives	95
REFERENCES	101
BIBLIOGRAPHY	105

1. INTRODUCTION - SOME DEFINITIONS

Since its beginning, women's studies has had two goals: to develop an interdisciplinary academic program (parallel in some respects to ethnic studies) having distinctive curricula, research concerns, teaching methodologies, and student constituencies; and to implement a strategy for changing the traditional, male-centered academic curriculum. In the past, other academic departures had been directed in some measure to changing the institution in which they were located. That was the case, for example, with the movement for general education more than half a century ago and, to a lesser extent, with the effort to develop ethnic and area studies programs, especially those focused on minority groups and non-Western cultures. But no program, certainly in recent history, has so clearly established at the top of its agenda fundamental change in the curriculum, and, to some degree, in the personnel and structures of colleges and universities.¹

This double charge for women's studies holds important implications for research and evaluation, as well as for program development. Women's studies programs, like other academic programs and departments, currently find themselves the subjects of evaluative studies. These are occurring, in part, because many institutions now regularly assess programs and departments, and, in part, because women's studies programs with "experimental" or informal status are seeking to be regularized. Some evaluations have occurred because program directors or deans have sought advice about directions or a critical analysis of a particular set of problems.²

Evaluations can, however, be problematic, not because women's studies programs have to be defensive about their accomplishments -- quite the contrary. But the field is relatively new, no adequate data base about its work and its students exists, and only a few

persons with expertise in women's studies have become experienced as evaluators. Further, the objectives, curriculum, and research in the field -- however well-developed -- remain relatively unknown to most college deans, presidents, and even members of accreditation committees.

Equally important, the determination to change institutions -- implicit or explicit in women's studies -- in some degree charges and complicates its evaluation. Indeed, it is this determination that charges the subject of this monograph: The impact of women's studies on host institutions and on the traditional disciplines subjects women's studies to rather distinctive scrutiny.

One normally does not ask whether or how the physics department, the American studies program, or the discipline of sociology impacts on an institution. One asks how well they are carrying out their traditional teaching and research functions and, occasionally, how they serve the institution with required or support courses. But women's studies is not only a "new girl on the block," having to fight for room among the boys' clubs; it also proposes that the rules of the game be changed for everyone -- that, for example, curricula in all the humanities and social sciences, and in some of the sciences as well, be fundamentally altered to correct the longstanding and disastrously misleading omission of women's lives, history, and accomplishments. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to inquire about the impact of women's studies, although it may be necessary to clarify procedures appropriate for more conventional evaluations.

In one sense, such conventional evaluations are beyond the scope of a monograph focused primarily on impact. But from another point of view, the initial and still most significant impact of women's studies on colleges and universities is the formation and existence of women's studies programs. Thus, it is

appropriate to discuss how such programs function and how their strengths, limitations, and potential for growth and development might be assessed. Section 2 of this monograph is devoted to a discussion of the utility of evaluation both for women's studies participants and outside observers.

The bulk of this monograph, however, focuses on the impact of women's studies on institutions and communities. We have defined these terms rather narrowly. Our search of the literature about the impact of women's studies has been confined to two general areas: (1) those college and university campuses on which women's studies programs currently exist; and (2) those academic professional associations that have spawned commissions or caucuses concerned with women. A dynamic interrelationship has developed between women's studies research and curricular development on campuses and the programmatic work carried out at professional meetings, in professional association committees, and in the new National Women's Studies Association. It has therefore been useful to review the dimensions of impact both in terms of local campus settings and, more broadly, in terms of national professional associations.

Because this monograph attempts to survey the literature relevant to future studies of impact, we have made no effort to provide more than the potential tools of measurement for future researchers. Obviously, the data we cite indicate the existence of impact, in some areas of major dimension, but we have refrained from measuring or judging. We are concerned primarily with defining areas in which impact can be noted and with sketching out the data that investigators will need if they are to quantify, and the problems they will face in assessing the substance of such impact.

Programs Versus Courses

Women's studies programs must be distinguished from individual women's studies courses. Programs can be found at 330 colleges and universities in the United States;¹ women's studies courses can be found on most of the Nation's 3,000 campuses. Almost all programs have developed along somewhat similar lines: in organizational structure, they have not (with a very few exceptions) become autonomous departments. Rather, they have remained "networks," involving faculty whose academic homes are in traditional departments, as well as a very small core of staff -- usually no more than two or three -- whose appointments are sometimes directly in women's studies.

Such an organizational structure is a reflection of curriculum: most often, the women's studies sequence begins with an interdisciplinary course, sometimes team-taught and sometimes having a women's studies catalog number. At the next level, one finds an enormous and growing variety of such departmentally based women's studies courses as "Images of Women in Literature," "History of Women in the United States," "The Psychobiology of Women," "The Sociology of Sex Roles," and the like. Additionally, and especially in the larger, older programs, there are comparable interdisciplinary courses, such as "Women and the Family," "Women and Violence," and "Women and Work," often having women's studies course numbers. Some programs have also developed an advanced coordinating or "capstone" interdisciplinary seminar, as well as a variety of internships or field placement experiences for upper-level students.

Whether a women's studies program offers an independent or coordinate major, a minor, a certificate, or another credential, what distinguishes a program from an isolated course or even a group of courses is the effort to develop a somewhat structured and organized academic experience for women's studies students. That experience usually includes women's

studies lectures and films, art exhibits, musical events, and other opportunities to share information, ideas, and concerns developed by the new feminist scholarship. Women's studies programs generally maintain close working relationships with -- and indeed sometimes encompass -- women's centers on campus, as well as on- and off-campus projects such as homes for battered women, rape crisis hotlines, and self-defense and assertiveness courses. In short, an important dimension of women's studies programs is a female-concerned and female-defined culture on campus.

But the core of women's studies remains curricular. Indeed, the key first step in program development is the admission into a college catalog of distinctive women's studies courses. Curriculum is, of course, informed and shaped by research: curriculum development in women's studies has been a major form of scholarship, since course models and standard texts did not exist in 1969 and, in many cases, still do not exist. In assessing the impact of women's studies, we emphasize the effects of curriculum development, women's studies research, and program building.

Courses About Women

One further problem of definition needs to be addressed: Are all courses about women "women's studies courses"? In practice, most women's studies program committees or coordinators have the power to approve or disapprove particular courses for inclusion under the women's studies rubric. Distinctions are sometimes drawn through listing some courses as an addendum to those formally designated as part of the women's studies program -- for example, under subheads called "Women's Studies Related Courses" or "Courses of Interest to Women."

Some women's studies programs examine course syllabi and interview instructors before listing any

course. Some programs have developed criteria against which they measure course proposals. Boneparth (1977) summarizes the criteria used by San Jose State University's Women's Studies Program as follows. Women's studies courses are expected to: "look at new and old research about women"; "raise new questions that are relevant to women"; question "the silence of traditional disciplines about women"; question "the male orientation and methodology of traditional fields"; "raise questions about sex-role relationships"; "question basic assumptions about society"; and "encourage students and faculty to do research on women and to share it with others."

The intent of such criteria as San Jose's seems, in general, to be as inclusive as possible. Their existence points to the fact that definitions of women's studies as an academic field, while still in flux, have begun to emerge, and that these definitions, like women's studies itself, diverge somewhat from traditional norms. In the following sections, we explore some of the issues posed by such criteria.

2. EVALUATION: THE WOMEN'S STUDIES PROGRAM AS IMPACT

Before turning to the specifics of evaluating women's studies programs, it may be useful to consider the changing context of evaluation in higher education.

Early Emphasis on Normative Evaluation

In 1960, Dewey B. Stuit, in "Evaluations of Institutions and Programs," summarized contemporary practice by asking whether or in what degree an institution or program "measured up" to appropriate collegiate norms. He acknowledged that such norms were ill-defined and that measurements were not easily taken. But as his discussions of "accreditation" and "ratings of institutions" indicate, his model assigned a grade to performance.

"The function of accreditation," Stuit wrote, "is to establish and define appropriate criteria and to apply these criteria to individual institutions or programs of study....Primarily, accreditation is concerned with distinguishing between the competent and the 'not quite competent.'" He continued, "A major need appears to be development of more objective techniques in evaluation and of norms of performance for the interpretation of findings....Tests, of course, are not the whole answer to problems of accreditation, but research on the validity of techniques and procedures currently used seems to be urgently needed."

As the "dimensions...of quality to be evaluated," Stuit posed the following:

Is a college to be judged by the caliber of students which it enrolls? By changes (intellectual, personal, attitudinal) produced in students? By the quality of its teaching? By the number of Ph.D.'s on

the faculty? By the number of books and articles its faculty has published? By achievements of alumni? By the size of its endowment fund? By its age and traditions?

The problem, he assumed, lay in measuring and weighting these.

Seen in the light of 20 years of change in postsecondary education, this normative approach to evaluation seems antiquated. The dimensions are hardly of equal value, and certain critical areas (e.g., curriculum) do not appear. Such norms as "age and traditions," moreover, cannot be applied to the hundreds of public colleges founded after the Second World War and burgeoning through the sixties into universities. Unless one provided as many norms as one had varieties of institutions, the idea of measuring up might not be helpful to the achievement of educational progress and excellence.

Shift to Formative Evaluation

The idea of evaluation shifted rapidly in the decade following publication of Stuit's article. By 1972, for example, Herbert R. Kells, a spokesperson for the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, could outline the changed forms of evaluation then (and basically now) in use among accrediting agencies.

"Institutional accreditation has two purposes," Kells wrote, in sharp contrast to Stuit. "The first is to provide a means for members of the higher educational community to hold an institution accountable to its own stated objectives. The second and most important is to improve educational processes and institutions." Self-studies, which were just developing in the late fifties, could be credited by 1972 as proceeding "substantially beyond rote description to analysis and problem solving." Rating programs against generalizable norms had been replaced

by a process of matching performance to distinctive institutional objectives. And the major evaluator's goal had shifted, at least in theory, from normative rating to the development of indicators of program improvement.

This shift is reflected also in the few theoretical articles on evaluating women's studies that have appeared during the seventies. In the main, they flow from a significant pair of conferences at Wesleyan University in 1973 that focused on the evaluation of courses rather than programs. Nevertheless, their perspective has been influential.

Decision-Theoretic Model

Reporting on the Wesleyan conferences, Tobias et al. (1974) suggest that women's studies practitioners would prefer that evaluation focus on the nature, impact, and improvement of courses, not on their supposed success or failure as measured against preconceived norms. The primary audience for such evaluation, moreover, was the students and teachers themselves, who needed the information to improve their teaching and learning. Methodologically, these conferences emphasized the importance of participant-observation, the analysis of students' journals about their classroom experience, and indepth interviews with students and faculty.

Discussion centered on a decision-theoretic evaluation model developed by Marcia Guttentag (most succinctly described in Guttentag et al., 1978). In this approach, evaluators are not outsiders with fixed ideas about objectives and measures, success and failure. Rather, evaluators are present, if possible, from the beginning, facilitating the formulation of clear statements about objectives and priorities and defining alternative activities needed to reach particular outcomes. As the course proceeds, evaluators assess the extent to which particular activities are accomplishing the desired ends, as well as the

extent to which objectives and strategies need to be redefined. This approach, focused mainly on the problem of adjusting decisionmaking and action strategies to the successful achievement of stated objectives, has evoked interest among women's studies participants because it offers a method of systematizing formative procedures by building them in at inception.

The decision-theoretic evaluation model is complex even for the single women's studies course, in which the participants are limited to a group of students and their teacher(s). The objectives and/or outcomes may range from adding new information about women, to raising students' consciousness about sexism, to providing students with theoretical models of feminism -- all or some of which may, as some students continue to claim, changelives. If it is difficult to get a complete list of objectives and outcomes, it is even more difficult to assess the attitudes and teaching strategies that lead from one to the other. (Studies of the impact of women's studies courses on students are discussed in Porter and Eileenchild, 1980.)

Goal Attainment Model

With regard to the evaluation of women's studies programs, the problems are still more complex. In a brief survey of the state of the evaluator's art, Martin and Goltz (1977) emphasize the usefulness of what they call a goal attainment model. Their model parallels the Guttentag decision-theoretic approach in that it begins with "the importance of a clear statement of program objectives," offers a formative approach to revising methods en route to such objectives, and ends with the question, "Did the program make a difference?"

There is, however, no discussion of how such a difference is itself evaluated. If students are more aware of sex-bias or more knowledgeable about women,

that is indeed of value to them. But it does not follow that the program producing such student awareness will be perceived as of value to the institution as a whole. To be sure, Martin and Goltz do not focus on such institutional evaluations but on a model to provide "information to improve programs during their developmental stages."

Perhaps because their review focuses on no specific programs or features of programs, Martin and Goltz seem to overemphasize, without clarifying the complexity of, the need for clear and comprehensive statements of program objectives. Other writers have commented on this problem, which is integral to the decision-theoretic approach to evaluation. In an article devoted to the impact on students of a women's studies course, Brush et al. (1978) remind evaluators that "a major issue in evaluation research" is "the importance of allowing for the discovery of unanticipated consequences of intervention programs." They continue: "We find this of special concern for programs like women's studies which have global goals and where the individuals involved may not be able to identify, a priori, all desirable results."

From its beginnings at the end of the sixties, women's studies proposed initial statements of goals that, if actually accomplished, would entail nothing short of a revolution in higher education. In this respect, women's studies is no different from its host institutions, whose stated goals generally include the thoroughgoing humanization and cultivation of all the young people in their charge, and perhaps in the surrounding communities as well. In short, measured against ultimate goals, no one would escape hanging.

A major problem for evaluators and program participants, therefore, is to distinguish longer and shorter term goals and objectives and to plot these against different degrees of potential support and encouragement. The distinction between broad goals and particular measurable objectives is usefully formulated by Millsap et al. (1979).

Current Context of Evaluation

Although formative evaluation is clearly more helpful to and therefore may be preferred by women's studies programs, normative evaluation is still a significant element of current evaluation studies on campuses, although this fact is not adequately addressed in the literature under review here. To be sure, the dimensions that form the bases for grades or success have changed over the years. Recently, and in all but a few elite institutions, the dominant dimension has become productivity. Thus, a major focus for managerial evaluation has been the measurement of norms for the productivity of courses, programs, and even whole institutions. Such other criteria as the faculty's publications, the development of new courses, the granting of advanced degrees, and the ratings of students continue to play a role. But especially in public institutions, however positive other criteria may be, a program or course that consistently demonstrates low productivity is not likely to survive.

Focus on Productivity

Productivity, in higher education's terms, means reaching the largest number of students at the lowest possible cost. If it is not measured in departmental majors, it is measured in full-time equivalents (FTEs) or, more precisely, in cost per FTE. It is higher education's version of the managerial revolution that does not make a priori judgments about the importance of a given product (or program), but that considers whether it sells, and seeks standardized, objective measures for assessing not merely sales but cost-benefit ratios. Thus, an administrator at Purdue questioning an evaluator/consultant in women's studies could remark that the key question was not the value of the program, but rather whether students would register for its courses.

In the sixties, the accrediting agencies described by Herbert Kells approached evaluation during a period of significant expansion, when the problem was less to choose between program A and program B than to find means to improve both of them. In the current period, when choices are being made between programs A and B, and when the traditional cadre of students is actually shrinking (or at least growing more slowly than before), the search for an objective basis upon which to make such choices reasserts itself.

Further, in the absence of consensus about philosophical or educational standards for determining the priority of academic programs, such supposedly objective criteria as measurable productivity take on additional weight. In 1960, very few would have questioned the idea that a college education should include a core of courses in science, social science, and humanities, and there was even some agreement about which courses might constitute such a core. Today, while such a consensus may be supported in theory, it rarely is in practice. Departments that once provided key courses for such a core -- history, for example -- find themselves subject to significant cutbacks because, it is said, of declining enrollments.

It is in such a context that women's studies programs are being evaluated. Productivity levels are high: one can only with difficulty find comparable enrollments at so low a cost to the institution as in women's studies. On the other hand, there is the problem of cultural paranoia addressed by Roznafszky and Hendel (1975) in an article on the evaluation of a women's studies course. Understanding the contemporary context helps explain also why mechanical strategies to lessen paranoia, suggested by the authors, are not likely to be effective. It would be naive, in the present economic and educational climate, not to note the uneven impact of evaluation. That is, while positive evaluations do not necessarily ensure continuation, much less growth and development, negative elements in an evaluation can be used as bases for choosing programs to cut.

Thus, a women's studies program may be caught in the tension between wanting help with problems that a formative evaluation may provide and needing to hide, or at least minimize, those same problems. When a consultant who has been hired to describe and sum up the features of a program then becomes an evaluator, her task can become problematic (see, for example, Porter, 1977).

A further problem exists with regard to normative evaluations of women's studies programs: What are the norms against which women's studies is being measured? We have already mentioned productivity, as measured in high enrollments at low cost. That clearly is not a problem for women's studies except insofar as it is sometimes awkward to proclaim productivity as a virtue and then expect an institution to increase the budget or offer to part-time, low-paid faculty tenure-track regularized positions. Productivity aside, women's studies programs, in their budget justifications or general reports, point to such normative features as advanced degrees held by faculty, their publications, and their attendance at professional meetings.

Problems in Establishing "Standards"

Establishing appropriate standards against which a women's studies program may be judged presents at least two general problems. First, as Porter (1977) points out, academic standards that are normal in a university, for example, may conflict with the "hard-earned version of women's studies defended" in a community college "as valid for them and their institution." Thus, if one is to build normative criteria, these need to be appropriate not only to women's studies in general, but to the variety of institutions in which it appears.

Further, deans want to know the answers to fairly traditional questions -- and measured comparatively, with regard to similar or more prestigious institutions. Are the faculty good when compared to women's

studies faculty elsewhere? Are the courses comparable to courses in other Big Ten institutions? Will enrollments hold up, or is this material of temporary interest? Are scholars across the country taking this development seriously? Deans seeking acceptable administrative solutions for the presence of women's studies also ask now about the cost of programs elsewhere, their management, and their location.

Hard questions about the intent or success of women's studies are being asked mainly by practitioners. Boneparth (1977), for example, has suggested some unusual criteria to measure the success of women's studies, such as: its capacity, as an interdisciplinary program, to "develop an overview of the role of women which merges the limited concerns of specialized fields into a general perspective"; its ability to explore the "interstices of related fields to draw out the truths that lie between disciplines"; and even its capacity for "liberating the faculty from their own traditionalism in order to devise educational techniques which integrate learning and doing."

Whether or not one agrees that these are appropriate goals for all women's studies programs, such goals reflect some of the challenges women's studies poses to institutional tradition and received norms. Such challenges may not be received graciously in a steady-state institutional universe by those with an interest in the integrity and continuity of their discipline as against new epistemologies or new ways of organizing knowledge for study.

Others concerned with women's studies' goals have voiced additional dimensions of evaluation. Girard (1978) proposes that changes in content and epistemology must be supported by new ways of teaching needed "to support new individual and group behavior patterns." One of the active feminists in her sample insisted that a "sex-fair college curriculum will not meet women's educational needs. Besides just adding

women to the texts and courses, the institution must enable women to build the confidence necessary to respond to that content in meaningful ways."

In a very different context, Lantz (1976) focuses on the problem of institutional barriers to the participation of women in science-related courses. Institutional change thus becomes an important concern for women's studies programs (see Richardson, 1975). At this end of the evaluation spectrum, one is asking that the institutional context be scrutinized in raising such questions as: Is this institution "healthy" for women? Is it hospitable to research and curricular development focused on women?

Although, at first glance, such questions may seem absurd in the context of evaluating women's studies, in practice these and similar questions inform the three-way dialogue among administrators, women's studies programs, and evaluators. For despite the paucity of detailed theoretical models and published literature, the institutional evaluation of women's studies programs has produced both self-studies and reports by external and internal review committees. However, in general, these are not easily available. This group of documents, if collected and studied, might prove most useful to the conceptions about and reality of evaluation.

Evaluation of Minnesota Program

The University of Minnesota's Women's Studies Program was officially begun in 1973 as an "experimental program." By 1975, a B.A.-degree program had been instituted, with the understanding that a formal review of the program in 1978 might regularize its existence. Early in 1978, the program's Self Survey Committee produced a two-volume Women's Studies Self Survey Report: 80 pages of text on such matters as program goals and objectives (see appendix),

curriculum and instruction, budget, faculty and students, and community services and outreach; and 365 pages of appendixes, major documents in the program's history, vitae of its faculty, and other useful information about women's studies at Minnesota and nationally.

An external review committee (Florence Howe, chair, Sue-Ellen Jacobs, and Carol Pearson) visited the program for 2-1/2 days and wrote a report in the late spring of 1978. And an internal review committee that had studied all reports, student evaluations, and course syllabi, and that had conducted its own interviews of women's studies faculty and students, issued a report on March 28, 1979. The external review committee was selected with an eye toward gaining comparative data: Howe, Jacobs, and Pearson were either coordinators of women's studies programs or especially informed about patterns of programs around the country. The internal review committee, chosen because of its distance from women's studies, described itself as coming to the assignment "with differing degrees of skepticism." Its academic values were, quite naturally, drawn from its own disciplinary traditions.

Despite the three different perspectives -- the program's own inside view, the external review committee's, and the internal review committee's -- the reports are, as the program coordinator Gayle Graham Yates notes in a letter to the dean, "remarkably similar in overview":

Each of them recognized the legitimacy of the emergence of Women's Studies as a field, called for permanence for our Program's status at Minnesota, acknowledged Minnesota's role of national leadership and prominence in the field, called for a small permanent core of Women's Studies faculty supplemented by adjunct faculty hired in departments and contributed to Women's

Studies, and additional money for course-by-course instruction and for teaching assistants. Each report suggested a permanent and independent governance structure determined by the faculty of Women's Studies, a fuller curriculum in the bachelor's and elective program and movement toward having a graduate component in Women's Studies.*

In practice, both formative and normative forms of evaluation were applied. The Minnesota program was advised, for example, to improve its course offerings for majors and to develop additional offerings for graduate students. At the same time, its faculty and course offerings were judged to be of high quality according to standards of scholarship both within and outside of women's studies. In addition to formative and normative evaluations of the program, in each case the evaluators addressed the institution itself. (Millsap et al., 1979, underlines the importance of distinguishing between those objectives within the control of a program and those not subject to its control. Achieving the right to hire tenure-track faculty is a legitimate program objective, for example, and strategies may be devised to work toward that end, but it is not finally a matter within the control of a program and thus should fall outside an evaluation of the program's ability to achieve those objectives within its control.)

Five of the 10 recommendations of the external review committee are not addressed to the program directly, but rather to the institution's support for the program. Similarly, the internal review committee concludes its report with the following statements:

. . .that the University of Minnesota Program has done an outstanding job under

*Letter to Dean Lukermann from Gayle Graham Yates, April 16, 1979.

very difficult circumstances; and that the Program performs unique, valuable and future-oriented services for this university, the community, state and nation. Further, we were deeply impressed with the enthusiasm and dedication of the faculty and students. Finally, we are convinced that the program will surely die--and perhaps ought to be given a quick death--if it is not provided with financial support in the form of permanent funding and a core faculty in the very near future.

This committee's five "primary recommendations" are addressed to the institution rather than to the program itself and include, as one item, that, "In the College's reallocation of funds, special consideration be given to positions which are redefined to meet the need for the study of women."

Summary

In summary, we would note briefly that the development of women's studies evaluation thus far has proceeded without significant assistance of a professional association. The new and growing National Women's Studies Association should be able to provide for institutions and programs a clearinghouse of information on evaluation, as well as a roster of approved evaluators. With the help of a data bank (see section 5 of this monograph), such a clearinghouse should allow for the orderly development of evaluation procedures and strategies. For while current evaluative practices are both eclectic and survival-focused, as women's studies programs gain regularized budgets and faculty, evaluation will necessarily need new forms, new questions, and responses.

3. THE IMPACT OF WOMEN'S STUDIES ON THE CAMPUS: A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

The Sources of Information

The first and major impact of women's studies on campuses has been the growth of new courses and the establishment, on more than 300 campuses, of women's studies programs. Hence, a survey of the literature on impact needs to begin with sources of information about the growth of courses and programs. Such information began to appear in the early 1970s as a result of information collected simultaneously and separately by Sheila Tobias and Florence Howe in connection with work they were doing with and for the emerging women's groups within professional associations. Although we have left the discussion of women's studies and professional associations for the following section, it is important here to note that the growth of commissions, committees, and caucuses interested in such broad goals as "establishing equity for women in the profession" [as stated by women in the Modern Language Association (MLA)] directly fostered the growth of women's studies on campuses.

Female Studies Series

In the summer of 1970, both Tobias and Howe began to receive syllabi of courses on women from colleagues around the country. Tobias asked KNOW, Inc., a feminist press in Pittsburgh, to print several hundred copies of the 17 syllabi and bibliographies that she had collected (mainly in the social sciences) and to publish them with the title Female Studies #1, especially for sale at the American Psychological Association's meeting in the early fall of 1970.¹

As chairperson of the MLA's Commission on the Status of Women, Howe had begun to receive syllabi and bibliographies of courses about women in the spring of 1970. By the fall of 1970, she had in hand 66

syllabi and bibliographies (in the humanities and social sciences). With the encouragement of Tobias, and with the addition of five brief essays about the teaching of women's studies, these were published as Female Studies II in time for distribution at the MLA's annual convention in December 1970.²

In the preface to Female Studies II, Howe describes the MLA's Commission as a "clearinghouse for information on new curricular developments in feminist studies." During the next year, the Commission's Clearinghouse published the first of two "new guides" to women's studies courses and programs; these were inexpensively produced listings of courses and programs and are now of only historical interest.³ Also during those years, the Commission wrote, edited, and sponsored the simultaneous publication of Female Studies III and Female Studies IV in 1971. Female Studies III, which contained 54 new course syllabi and bibliographies, also included generous excerpts from the founding documents of 17 women's studies programs, as well as a description of their course offerings, governance structures, and the like.⁴

Other published information about women's studies programs continued to appear in the Female Studies series.⁵ In Female Studies VI, for example, also sponsored by the MLA commission, "A Nuts and Bolts View of Women's Studies" by Nancy Porter offers an analysis of the growth of women's studies as a program at Portland State University up to 1972. The Women's Studies Newsletter, which began publication in 1972; has offered programs the opportunity to write about themselves. (See Bibliography for full listing.) In 1973, Female Studies VII: Going Strong -- New Courses/New Programs, edited by Deborah Silverton Rosenfelt, published documents describing 12 additional women's studies programs.

Surveys of Women's Studies Programs

By 1973, the institutional umbrella for the Clearinghouse on Women's Studies was The Feminist Press, also the publisher of the Women's Studies Newsletter. With the help of a small grant from the Ford Foundation in that year, the Clearinghouse began the only formal women's studies survey of the decade. Letters were sent to all colleges and universities, through offices for academic affairs and to selected department heads (especially English, history, sociology), requesting both listings of women's studies courses inside departments and under the rubric of women's studies. The survey also requested information about women's studies programs in existence or in formation. It included listings (by institution, individual faculty member, and department) of 4,990 women's studies courses taught in 885 institutions by 2,964 faculty members; it also listed 112 programs.

In the years following 1974, there, unfortunately, has been no update or repetition of the survey of women's studies courses. However, the Women's Studies Newsletter has continued to publish, at 12- to 18-month intervals, an updated list of women's studies programs. That list, also appearing annually in Publications of the Modern Language Association (PMLA), has been the only data base for women's studies programs. The most recent list of slightly more than 300 programs appeared in the issue for fall 1978 (vol. 6, no. 4), and forms the base for seeking materials on women's studies programs.⁶

One caveat on the use of this base: From the beginning, the definition of a women's studies program was left to the discretion of each campus. Surveys have asked for the name of a coordinator (or director); for the program's institutional address; and for information about minors, degrees, and certificates, where relevant. In general, those who return the brief questionnaire or who ask to be included in future listings sometimes send additional

information about their programs in the form of course listings or brochures. But since there are no formal requirements, some programs have listed their existence in anticipation of that fact, while others have awaited recognition by their universities. Thus, to be still more useful as a research instrument, the program list needs a more extensive survey and analysis, as recommended in section 5 of this monograph.

Problems in Gathering Data

In general, a researcher in women's studies has several handicaps to overcome. Principally, there is no established public repository or archive of materials, and there have been few formal studies of impact. One must gather materials directly from the programs in the form of annual reports, internal evaluations, grant applications, and the like.

Apart from obvious areas such as enrollments and budget, much of the program-supplied materials are not comparable across programs. Further, such materials, gathered at any one moment in time, may not offer a longitudinal view of a program's impact on a campus. Since the compilation of such data by researchers working individually burdens programs excessively, few programs are consistently represented in studies, and at least half may not be represented at all.

In preparing this monograph, we had access to the research files that Howe has accumulated during the past 10 years. In addition, our own new request to programs for recent information about their impact on campuses brought 77 responses, many of which were additions to already established files on these programs. The bibliography lists 119 women's studies programs for which we have useful material.

Survey of the Literature

Many women's studies programs have instituted informal surveys of other programs in order to collect

information for use in their own development. Beuf et al. (1972) provides one of the very few published sources of nationally gathered information on women's studies begun for this purpose. The project of Beuf et al., which was aimed at planning for a women's studies program at the University of Pennsylvania, gathered information from the approximately 15 then existing programs on why they had begun, their strategies for changing the curriculum, their forms of organization, the courses offered and research undertaken by women's studies faculty, the development and perceived future needs of women's studies in various academic disciplines, students' responses to the courses, and some assessment of their strengths and weaknesses.

Howe and Ahlum (1973), whose study was more analytical and focused on both courses and programs, used as sources the accumulated MLA Clearinghouse files, an additional effort to collect several hundred new course syllabi and descriptions of women's studies programs, visits to selected campuses, and published sources (see their bibliography). They describe an early view of the problems endemic to women's studies programs as the effort to "have the best of both worlds: some separatism for the sake of building strength and community; but a continuing presence in all aspects of university life and structure." Thus, the "dominant model of organization among programs may be described as 'interdepartmental,' or what Sacramento State College women call 'decentralized.'"

Howe and Ahlum identify dual goals of women's studies programs: "to draw into their centers, courses and research activity, students, faculty, and members of the general community; to move outward to affect other areas of the institution. Thus, the internal structures of women's studies programs must necessarily be somewhat fluid, a decentralized network rather than a traditional bureaucracy." Impact, therefore, is an acknowledged goal of programs.

Nichols (1976) broadly surveyed women's programs in public community colleges. Of the 577 institutions (88 percent) responding, over half had special programs for women in the form of either noncredit or credit-bearing academic courses. The survey did not provide much detail about the courses or the extent to which they were organized into programs.

Richardson (1975) attempted to assess the ideological commitments of continuing education programs for women and of women's studies programs. She found, in general, more support for "ameliorative objectives" (efforts to bring women into the mainstream) than for "reconstructionist objectives" (efforts to change the structure of society to eliminate discrimination). Women's studies programs showed significantly more support for most of the objectives studied than did continuing education programs, and programs that supported reconstructionist objectives also supported ameliorative ones, though not vice versa.

Richardson's data suggests that the higher the proportion of male faculty in a program, the less support for all objectives. This finding, of course, raises questions about the participation of males in women's programming generally, though it is not clear whether the presence of men in a program affects its objectives or vice versa. Interestingly, Richardson also found a weak positive correlation between institutional financial support and a program's support for reconstructionist goals. Richardson's data, or an extension of her work, may be helpful in assessing the correlations, if any, between a program's ideology and its impact.

The first reasonably systematic data survey of women's studies programs was conducted by Bose et al. (1975). They sent questionnaires to 101 women's studies programs in January 1975, and received 40 responses. They inquired about program space (how much, where located, and the like); length of existence; number of graduates and their jobs; whether a

program's organization was hierarchical or not; under whose jurisdiction a program existed; whether the program had autonomy with respect to finances, internal administration, and faculty; the source of funding; whether graduate degrees were offered; and the program's institutional status. They found that programs had little autonomy with respect to selection of faculty, though a good deal in terms of internal administration. Most programs were funded (lightly) by the institutions, not by outside agencies. Almost all offered primarily undergraduate courses, were interdisciplinary in character, and were opposed to taking on a departmental structure. Most were coordinated not by virtue of physical proximity of faculty offices but by having some central meeting space and a process of collective decisionmaking.

In 1976, the University of Delaware's Women's Studies Program questioned 40 programs about the availability to them of space, secretarial help, a director, and full-time faculty. Only one-third had anything like the personnel normally available to a department.

In 1977, the University of Oregon's Women's Studies Student Union (Popp et al., 1977) mailed two separate questionnaires to women's studies programs and to student participants. These questionnaires asked about courses offered and where these were located academically; the rationale for the curricular structure; the nature of the decisionmaking structure; whether there was an introductory course, its size, how it was taught, and by whom; the extent of community involvement; and the size of the program's budget. They also asked a series of questions primarily of interest to students engaged in organizing or helping to administer a women's studies program. The results of this survey have not, so far as we know, been made available in written form.

Wood: Baseline Data

Probably the most ambitious effort to gather baseline data on women's studies programs is that of Donna J. Wood (1978, 1979). Wood's findings, based on questionnaires completed by 173 women's studies program coordinators in 1977, indicate that most women's studies programs either coordinate courses offered in other departments (26.5 percent) or coordinate some of those and offer some of their own as well (54.3 percent). She found that 41.6 percent of the programs provide a minor or its equivalent in women's studies, 19.3 percent a dual or independent major, and 19.9 percent a women's studies major (although it has to be said that the distinction between an "independent" and a "women's studies" major is not always clear). A majority of programs offer academic and other counseling and career planning, and almost half offer the nonacademic community such services as workshops, referral services, and general educational events. Almost half (43.3 percent) offer services beyond course work, counseling, and community activities.

Wood draws a number of conclusions about the positions of coordinators, the size of budgets, and other issues. One of these conclusions is that the growth of new women's studies programs fell off after 1976. However, this is based on an incomplete listing of programs in 1977 and is thus unreliable. It does, however, point to the general problem encountered in women's studies research of a need for a reliable data base.

Wood also attempted to generate correlations between particular institutional characteristics and the decision to establish a women's studies program. Her data point to weak correlations around the following issues: schools most likely to have women's studies programs are larger, relatively well-to-do or poor (but not "middle-income") institutions; they are more likely to be public than sectarian; and they are more likely to be selective in admission. According

to Wood, institutions with women's studies programs are more likely to serve a large minority of women students rather than a few or a majority, perhaps because the latter are often teachers' colleges with rather fixed curricula.

Wood also determined that women's studies programs are more likely to be located in institutions having relatively few (0 to 19 percent) women on the faculty than in those with higher proportions. Perhaps this is because, in the former, the few women are able to find each other and to work together, although it is also perhaps because the latter are almost certainly sectarian institutions. Size of institution, organizational flexibility, and, implicitly, the availability of discretionary funds seem to be the best predictors of the establishment of women's studies programs. But as Wood points out, the factors she was able to study explain only about 25 percent of the variance encountered. Whether the instruments used were insufficiently developed or, as is more likely, local factors are overwhelmingly determinant is not clear. If the latter is the case, onsite gathering of information and data obviously would be helpful.

Deutsch: Women's Studies Variables

Deutsch (1979) studied in somewhat more detail 23 programs, mainly on the bases of a questionnaire mailed to coordinators and data collected about standard courses within the programs. She gathered a variety of information on subjects ranging from enrollments and budgets to organizational structure and the location of a program in the institution. Her conclusions, which largely substantiate those of Seven Years Later, focus on what she describes as seven "women's studies variables." These include why the program developed, which, Deutsch suggests, is primarily a function of faculty demand and interest, though student demand also plays a role.

Deutsch also provides a number of useful statistical conclusions: the total number of women's

studies courses in the programs examined ranged from 6 to 68, with a mean of 22; total enrollments ranged from 150 to 1,300 for the academic year, with the mean 620. Eighteen of the 23 programs had independent budgets, in amounts ranging from \$800 (primarily for supplies) to \$65,000 (including faculty salaries); the mean budget amount was \$21,000. Fifteen programs had funds for between one and three support staff members, usually a secretary and work-study or graduate students. Only six of the programs had faculty assigned directly to them.

Interestingly, Deutsch found that budgets did not seem to be associated with enrollments, though they were related to the number of courses taught in a program. This may suggest that women's studies programs do not reap the full benefits of their relatively high enrollments. The number of courses also helped to predict the number of support staff, which, Deutsch suggests, may indicate that administrators are more willing to provide such staff than independent budgets. In her on-campus case studies, Deutsch examined the roles of coordinators as "brokers," negotiating budgets and means of support with other departments and groups, and as "change agents." Like other investigators, Deutsch emphasizes the importance of onsite visits as a primary means for understanding institutional reality.

Howe: Program Growth and Impact

Seven Years Later: Women's Studies Programs in 1976 (Howe, 1977) is the product of extensive onsite visits to 15 mature women's studies programs and of an analysis of the growth of those programs through the decade in light of the general development of women's studies nationwide. This volume includes lists of courses offered annually (as of 1976) in each of the 15 programs, as well as hard data for 1975-76 on enrollments, number of courses offered, budgets, faculty involved, coordinator's position and duties, and so forth.

Chapter 6 of Howe's work, called "Impact of Women's Studies as a Strategy for Change," reviews the impact of women's studies on the campus in general; on faculty in programs; on students' vocational interests and goals; on the curriculum; and on schools of education and the inservice education of teachers in the community. Since many of the issues, conclusions, and recommendations of this book form the basis for this and the other monographs in this series, we have not attempted to summarize the conclusions here. But we do restate the "four questions" raised in discussing the impact of women's studies on the traditional curriculum, since these questions are relevant to the three studies still to be described.

1. Is there an inverse relationship between the early establishment of a women's studies program -- with women's studies course numbers of its own -- and the proliferation of women's studies courses in departments?
2. Is there a relationship between the growth of the major in women's studies (meaning both the numbers of students who are majors and the complexity of the curriculum arranged for them) and the impact of women's studies on that particular campus?
3. Is women's studies successful in changing courses that already exist, particularly those required of all students or of all majors in particular departments?
4. Could a changed curriculum occur without the mediating effect of women's studies? Is it possible for a faculty member to move from teaching a male-centered curriculum to teaching a nonsexist curriculum without the catalytic experience of teaching a women's studies course?

DeBiasi and Rhodes: Program Visibility

DeBiasi and Rhodes (1979), in assessing responses to the beginning of a women's studies program at Old Dominion University, proposed a series of baseline questions about the visibility and impact of the program: Do people on campus know of the existence of a women's studies program? Which people? What do they think it does? Where did they learn about what it does? How do they feel about what they think it does? Is women's studies a valid field of study? Would they (do they) recommend that students take women's studies courses? If they are faculty or administrators, have they read scholarship in women's studies? Have they taught women's studies? Would they, if asked?

DeBiasi and Rhodes surveyed students as well as faculty and administrators. Although a large majority of the campus was aware of the program's existence, 47 percent of the faculty and 33 percent of the administrators were relatively unaware of its goals and the details of its responsibilities. A strong majority expressed support for women's studies and thought it was a valid field of study. Twenty-six percent of faculty (more women than men) said they had advised students to enroll in women's studies courses, and 18 percent said that their departments had already treated women's studies issues in class.

By contrast, while DeBiasi and Rhodes found that 81 percent of the students thought that students should be informed by advisers about women's studies courses, only 8 percent of the students had been so advised. And while 52 percent of students thought that women's studies should be incorporated into departmental courses, only 10 percent said that they had had some women's studies materials in departmentally offered courses. Such discrepancies may, of course, be functions of different definitions of "women's studies material," or they may help to explain why 57 percent of the students said that

separate women's studies courses would continue to be needed even if women's studies materials were absorbed into traditional departments.

DeBiasi and Rhodes's study suggests that, while a high level of verbal support for women's studies exists at Old Dominion, such support has not been translated into curricular reform by faculty or into financial and other forms of support by administrators. However, DeBiasi and Rhodes do not draw such conclusions; they are, in fact, very careful not to evoke broad generalizations from their limited study. Nevertheless, their study raises significant issues with respect to the match of perception and performance, verbal assent to the need for curricular reform, and provisions of the necessary resources for the accomplishment of the reform.

Banner: Women in the College Curriculum

Such issues are of special concern in relation to the one large completed study of the impact of women's studies on the curriculum, the Princeton Project on Women in the College Curriculum (Banner et al., 1977). Banner et al. gathered a nationwide sample of syllabi for introductory courses in history, sociology, psychology, and English, and subjected these to a content analysis to determine the extent to which they dealt with women. In addition, the group "surveyed department chairpeople, women academics, heads of women's studies programs, and editors." The survey was admittedly somewhat limited by time, resources, and conception, and it did not touch at all on the vital issues of how material on women or sexist material was taught in the courses examined. In fact, since most of the syllabi were based on textbooks, a good deal of Banner's analysis was of the textbooks themselves, rather than of the syllabi.

Review of Texts and Syllabi. Banner noted relative progress in sociology, where a basic text and a book of readings with some sensitivity to women were available. Still, only 9 percent of the 92 syllabi

from 47 departments analyzed were rated in her category three ("several weeks spent on women"), with another 52 percent ranked in category two ("at least one week devoted to women"), and 39 percent devoting little or no attention to women. In fact, in only 8 of the 47 departments was the particularly enlightened textbook used, and in only 4 of the departments was the comparably enlightened book of readings used.

In psychology, where no such texts existed, the problem was greater, although, as Banner points out, that might reflect the fact that introductory psychology courses are devoted primarily to theory and methodology. In history, where texts and readers that incorporate a reasonable amount of materials on women have appeared, instructors have not yet adopted these. One exception is for post-Civil War American history, where about 18 percent (seven courses) fell into Banner's category three.

In English, Banner's study focused on women authors, since most fiction at least has some women characters. The results here were equally distressing: 25 percent of the post-Civil War American literature surveys contained no women writers, another 21 percent only one (probably Emily Dickinson), and still another 41 percent about two. Dickinson appeared in 23 of 61 syllabi; Edith Wharton in 16; and all other women in 12 or fewer. Banner concluded that "the trend towards overlooking women as a category for consideration within the core curriculum is apparent."

Examination of Influencing Factors. Banner et al. also attempted to estimate the factors influencing the incorporation of material on women into introductory courses. She tried, primarily on the basis of opinions expressed by departmental chairpeople and women faculty members, to isolate the influence of "attention to new research and publication within a given discipline; the presence of women faculty members; the existence of a women's studies program [and of a women's studies course in the department];...

an instructor's age or recent participation in graduate school"; and the location, size, or nature of the school. Oddly, she did not include the issue she herself raised elsewhere of the availability of a text or reader.

Banner seems to feel that the most important factor promoting incorporation of material on women is the presence of women faculty, together with the "existence of a course on women within a specific department." On the other hand, she concludes that "there was a poor correlation with the existence of a women's studies program in any given institution."

Problems in Conclusions. In this area, it seems that Banner's conclusions are extended a good deal beyond what the evidence will support. The contention that the presence of women faculty is the crucial variable flows from the opinions of departmental chairpeople and women faculty themselves: statistical support is not provided. Although this may be a reasonable hypothesis, one cannot accept as conclusive the testimony of those most directly advantaged by such a conclusion. Further, while no one would question the importance of the presence of female faculty, is the issue the presence of women, of feminists, or both? One might add parenthetically that, if the presence of women faculty were the critical issue, one should expect to find a concluding recommendation emphasizing affirmative action hiring as the sine qua non for curricular change. This is not the case.

Serious additional confusion affects the study's information on women's studies programs, their numbers, and their outlooks. Banner asserts, without providing supporting evidence, that "many women's studies programs are hostile" to including material on women throughout the college curriculum, "for they foresee a threat to their own existence if the study of women attains general curricular status." This observation directly contradicts the stated goals of most programs.

Further, Banner's conclusions about the impact of women's studies seem rooted either in the opinions of departmental chairpeople (whom Banner herself characterizes both as overly optimistic with respect to the inclusion of women's material in their departments' curricula and uninformed about women's studies) or in the opinions of women faculty in departments (whose outlooks on and relations to women's studies remain unanalyzed). No distinctions are drawn between larger and smaller institutions, those with older or new women's studies programs, and those whose women's studies programs developed from departments and those whose departmental courses developed from women's studies.

Most significantly, Banner's selection of institutions asked to provide syllabi is itself crucially at odds with any serious assessment of the impact of women's studies. Not one of the 15 institutions studied by Howe (1977) or the 30 queried by Deutsch (1979) were among the 74 contacted in the Princeton project. Indeed, of those 74, only 23 had women's studies programs as late as the summer of 1977, and only five of these dated back to 1974 or earlier. Thus, almost all long-established women's studies programs were excluded from the study. Perhaps four syllabi from institutions with well-developed women's studies programs did get into the sample by other means (sent by "women's studies directors" or through "other contacts"). Nevertheless, the fact remains that the sample of established programs is so small and idiosyncratic (e.g., four of the five "older" programs were at large state universities) that no reasonable conclusions, much less the sweeping generalizations made by Banner, can be based on it.

Finally, the statistical technique used by Banner to suggest a negative correlation between the presence of a women's studies program and the inclusion of women's material in departmental courses actually hides the paucity of the sample. Forty-one departmental chairpeople noted the existence of a women's

studies program on campus. However, because as many as four chairpeople may have come from the same institution, the study could, in fact, be talking about as few as 11 programs. In short, while the issue of what factors produce discernible changes in curriculum is critical, definitive answers do not seem to have emerged from this study.

Froines and Merlin: Survey of Faculty

A rather more thorough study of this kind presently is being undertaken by Ann Froines and Rami Merlin on behalf of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Curriculum at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. Their faculty questionnaire deals with three areas: (1) a survey of courses; (2) "steps to further development of curriculum materials"; and (3) the charge of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Curriculum.

The first part of Froines and Merlin's questionnaire asks faculty to list courses they regularly teach in their departments or in interdisciplinary concentrations. For each of these courses, faculty are then asked either to "list what readings, if any, you use which are by women authors or deal primarily with women, their roles in or contributions to society/culture" or to "list what materials you use that specifically discuss or analyze the role of women." Additionally, faculty are asked to indicate whether their courses "reflect a changed perspective, resulting from the new scholarship on women and the heightened awareness in our society of the status of women"; to identify course changes smaller in scope; to explain how they locate new materials on women; and to say what they feel is the main obstacle to incorporating materials on women in their courses.

In the second part of the questionnaire, faculty are asked about effective readings, about their own interest in bibliographies and curriculum workshops, and the like. Finally, faculty are asked how they

would implement the charge of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Curriculum and their interest in working with it.

An additional questionnaire was distributed among students in non-women's studies courses. It was anticipated that materials from this survey would be available in 1980. Its replication would provide a significantly deepened picture of curricular change -- and perhaps help to produce it as well.

Summary

It is not difficult to explain why we have had relatively little systematic study of the impact of women's studies on higher education. A single decade is a brief period in educational history. Until very recently, relatively few women's studies programs were well-established enough to have produced demonstrable impact. In addition, as we discuss in detail in section 5, the data base is rather small and, in most respects, unsystematic.

Finally, impact implies causality, but it often proves difficult to establish whether changes on a campus can be attributed to the work of women's studies faculty and students, to the effects of the broader women's movement on and off campus, to changes in the climate of opinion, or even to stubborn material factors like the new female majority in many undergraduate populations. Women's studies is itself a product of such a combination of factors and can, in certain respects, be seen both as an agent of change and as a mediator between the factors producing change and the academic community.

4. THE IMPACT OF WOMEN'S STUDIES ON PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND THE TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES

In addition to reviewing the literature describing the impact of women's studies on the campus, we took as our assignment the more diffuse community of scholars within professional associations. We were thinking of impact in relation to the disciplines conceived of in a national rather than a local sense and to the array of professional associations that support and, in many respects, shape the traditional disciplines as they are taught on campuses.

We considered that the emergence of women's studies as an interdisciplinary area of knowledge might affect the academic professional associations in at least three ways. First, consciousness about the status of women and knowledge about their history, achievement, and potential might increase the numbers of women who enter and complete doctoral programs, as well as abet the women already in the profession by raising their goals and opening hitherto unavailable opportunities. Second, the emergence of women's studies as an interdisciplinary area of knowledge might affect all other areas of knowledge that either have engaged in or should engage in studying women. And third, women's studies and the development of its distinctive organizational forms might, in turn, affect the institutional structures and functions of the professional associations, both within and outside of the academy.

We believe, therefore, that a review of the impact of women's studies on professional associations should consider questions of women's status, of epistemology and changes in the structure of knowledge, and of changes in the organizational forms of the professions.

As we indicate in section 3, few formal research efforts have focused on the impact of women's studies on campuses. We must report here that none have studied the impact of women's studies on the professional associations or on the disciplinary base of knowledge more broadly conceived.¹ That may seem astonishing, especially since we do have, nevertheless, substantial literature to report upon. In general, however, that literature has been produced by emerging women's groups within professional associations and by several new, women-centered, professional associations. In general also, it is difficult in all but a few cases to see these groups as a result simply of the development of women's studies. Rather, they are a product of the same forces outside the campus that produced women's studies -- the national women's movement that began in the early sixties and that touched academe late in the decade.

In the most obvious sense, therefore, in which women's studies programs may be considered an "impact" on the campus, so the more than 80 commissions, caucuses, and committees of and on women inside professional associations and the half dozen new professional associations of or about women may be seen as an "impact" on the community of scholars. Beyond the facts of their formation and existence, questions of their impact on their host professions need to be raised. These questions ultimately reach to the structure of knowledge and to the division and subdivision of knowledge into disciplines around which the professional associations are organized.

Formation and Growth Of Professional Women's Groups

Clearer but still mainly uncharted beyond the outline of history we presented in section 3 is the impact of these emerging professional women's groups on women's studies as it began to appear on campuses at the end of the sixties. It is probably accurate to

assume that the growth of women's studies on campuses depended on a close relationship between teacher/scholars and program organizers on campus and the activists in the professions responsible for the developing commissions, caucuses, and committees on women. Indeed, in some cases, these were the same persons. In all cases, the annual conventions, the newsletters of these emerging groups, and other publications they sponsored or actually supported accomplished ends significant for the process of women's studies on campuses: the networks of women engaged in similar curricular and research efforts were formed, and curricular materials and reports of research findings were circulated, often without the niceties of expensive publishing processes but with the rapidity of a mass underground.

Beginning in 1968, for example, the Women's Caucus of the American Sociological Association (ASA), under the direction of Alice S. Rossi, began to study the status of women in sociology. At the same time, Rossi began to teach a unit on women and gender in her course on social inequalities. Similarly, in 1969, a study of the status of women in 5,000 departments of English and other modern languages was begun by the Modern Language Association's (MLA) Commission on the Status of Women; at the same time, members of that commission were beginning to teach what would be called women's studies courses.

The results of the studies themselves soon raised questions about the attrition of women from the ranks of graduate students, and even from the profession itself. Following some leads of women studying the elementary school texts and curriculum, those questions led indirectly to studies of the male-centered collegiate curriculum. From such studies of images of women in literature and history -- some of which were initiated either by the kinds of women's groups we are considering or by individuals loosely associated with such groups -- came the ultimate leap to the conception of women's studies.

It is therefore possible to trace as one of the sources of women's studies those studies of the status of academic women that burgeoned in the professional associations and throughout academe at the turn of the decade (on individual campuses, for example, and through the Women's Equity Action League's class action suits on behalf of academic women). At the same time, one would have to add that, as women's studies developed on campuses across the country, its needs affected the emerging commissions, committees, and caucuses directly and in ways that could be studied in some detail.

By the mid-seventies, there were new organizations within or alongside almost every academic professional association. In some cases, they were formally recognized and budgeted commissions or committees on women; in others, they were less formal women's caucuses. In still other instances, the group separated itself from the host institution and became Sociologists for Women in Society (SWS) or the Association for Women in Psychology (AWP). In addition to the newly reconstituted Berkshire Women's History Conference,² a profusion of such organizations have been formed in the field of history, nationally and regionally, both inside and outside the American Historical Association (AHA) and the Organization of American Historians (OAH). In January of 1977, the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) was formed as an organization intentionally interested in containing, umbrella-like, all of these newly formed women's units, especially when they are interested in curricular change.³

Activities of Groups Surveyed

In connection with this review, we surveyed the relevant groups and have collected materials from 57 of them. Most distribute at least periodic newsletters summarizing developments and issues in their area of concern and announcing special programs they will sponsor at conventions and conferences. Some have

issued brochures on programs they sponsor; others have prepared grant proposals that outline their origin and development. For an October 1978 conference of such groups in the humanities and social sciences, sponsored by the OAH and funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, 40 groups wrote brief summaries of their goals and accomplishments. In short, there is a substantial body of documents, although not in any single place, from which one can outline the potential categories that future studies of impact should consider.

Focus on Status of Women

For this review, we categorized these groups in two broad areas: those concerned solely with women's professional status, and those whose mandates extend also to the curricular and research concerns of women's studies. Particularly representative of the former are formal committees on women in the sciences and formal commissions on the status of women in several of the social sciences. Such groups have focused their attention on the numbers and positions of women in the profession and on efforts to recruit more women into it and improve the status of women scholars. They have also prepared and circulated rosters of women in the profession, established programs aimed at training women for professional advancement, developed strategies to increase the participation of women in policymaking within the professional association, and, in some instances, monitored the association's affirmative action plans, placement procedures, grievance mechanisms, and the like.

So far as we know, the impact of such efforts has not been broadly assessed. We have collected a few reports prepared for granting agencies, as well as several articles that have appeared in the newsletter of the American Association of College's Project on the Status and Education of Women. Likewise, the impact of groups limiting their work to such issues as

status and recruitment of women has not been compared to that of groups whose concerns extend to women's studies.

We suspect that studies of impact would reveal that, even when groups concerned about the status of women and those devoted to women's studies are formally separated, a certain exchange develops between them. However narrow their charge, commissions and committees on women serve as professional training grounds within which women develop the skills, attributes, and experience necessary for effective work in the largely male-dominated divisions or committees of most professional associations. Such preparation may have significance beyond simple questions of status. In our experience, women appointed to commissions devoted to status have carried into areas of research and curriculum the concerns and questions with which they have become expert: Where are the women, what are they doing, and how does one know? Thus, at least indirectly, it is possible to hypothesize that working on the status of women in a professional association may lead to the development of women's studies within the profession.

Focus on Issues of Status and Women's Studies

In the humanities and social sciences, most of the women's professional organizations are concerned both with the issues of status and with those of women's studies. The purposes of the Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession, adopted when it was organized in 1969 at the American Historical Association's annual convention, are typical:

- o To encourage the recruitment of women into the historical profession and to advance the status of women at all levels within that profession;

- o To oppose discrimination against women in the profession;
- o To encourage and help develop research and instruction in the field of women's history.

The Women's Caucus of the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE), somewhat more recent in origin, provides a slightly more comprehensive but still typical statement of purposes and goals. Its purposes are:

- o To expand women's knowledge of and interaction within higher education;
- o To increase the Association's knowledge of and responsiveness to women's issues in higher education;
- o To further diversify the membership, participation, and program of AAHE.

And its goals are:

- o To increase the participation of women in higher education and in AAHE;
- o To develop support systems, survival and coping skills, knowledge, and administrative expertise among women in higher education;
- o To assist women in making personal and professional linkages and in increasing their effectiveness in the higher education community;
- o To organize the constituency of the Women's Caucus into regional networks;
- o To encourage the full involvement of women in the Association's programming, governance, and policymaking.

The by-laws of the Association for Women in Psychology, which has existed independently of the American Psychological Association since its founding in 1969, make explicit AWP's commitment not only to professional issues and to women's studies, but to broader social change as well. AWP's goals are:

- o Ending the role that psychology has had in perpetuating unscientific and unquestioned assumptions about the "natures" of women and men;
- o Encouraging feminist psychological research on sex and gender;
- o Encouraging research and theory directed toward alternatives to sex roles, childraising practices, nonsexist lifestyles, and new vocabularies;
- o Expanding opportunities for women to achieve equality within psychology;
- o Educating and sensitizing the psychology professions and the public to the psychological, social, political, and economic problems of women;
- o Ending the use of "mental health" professions and psychotherapy as a means of enforcing institutionalized sexism; and
- o Helping women create individual sexual identities through which they may freely and responsibly express themselves.

One final example is the MLA's Commission on the Status of Women. This commission, charged in 1969 with "establishing equity for women in the profession," has interpreted the charge to include gathering and disseminating women's studies syllabi and bibliography beyond the languages and literatures that are

the MLA's professional concerns. The publications and convention programming sponsored by this commission have emphasized the relationships between the status of women in the profession and the treatment of women in the literary curriculum, as well as in the use and teaching of language.⁴

Need for Multifaceted Study of Impact

Only an extended study will be able to assess the success that such professional women's groups have had in carrying out their goals. Here we can name the areas in which visible impact might be studied in depth. But perhaps it is well to mention again a question we raised earlier in connection with the assessment of the impact of women's studies on campuses: On whom has the work of these groups had an impact? On the community of scholars who regard themselves as feminists and who translate their professional concerns on their campuses into teaching women's studies courses? Or on the vast majority of the professions that may still be relatively untouched by women's studies? The language in which we have asked these questions suggests the responses, and without disparagement. It is not unreasonable to expect that, in their first decade, such groups would affect first the constituency they were gathering around them.

Programming: Principal Impact of All Groups

The first and most obvious impact of all of these groups has been on the programming of annual conventions and other professional meetings. Here, one could study the number and variety of programs that have "added" women to the annual concerns of professions. In addition, some professional associations, such as the sociologists, the psychologists, and the members of MLA, have added sex roles or women's studies to the permanent roster of divisions within the profession.

However, when one looks beyond the existence of such programming to those persons reached, the questions grow more complex. For women's studies practitioners, the conventions have meant very significant opportunities for meeting and learning from others who are doing similar scholarly work, as well as the opportunity for what could be described as postdoctoral study. Especially for graduate students, but also for scholars trained in the decades before the late sixties, convention programs in women's studies have become occasions for essential education. For such reasons, attendance at women's studies sessions has remained understandably high through the seventies.

At the same time, such sessions have been attended mainly (or only) by women. Further, annual meetings such as the MLA's have been split into "men's" and "women's" conventions. Through the decade, however, divisions outside women's studies -- in the MLA, for example -- have begun to offer some convention programs focused on women. Thus, a review of the impact of women's studies on the programming of professional associations would have to consider both those attending women's studies programs and the increasing number of papers and programs on women emerging from the mainly male-controlled divisions. Indeed, such a review would have to look too at the integration of women into the governance of such divisions and the possible consequent changes in programming.

Broad Activities of the MLA

The Modern Language Association offers a rare opportunity for studying the development of women's groups within and alongside it, since it has been host to all the varieties possible. A Commission on the Status of Women was formed officially by the MLA in 1969, and later that same year a Women's Caucus for Modern Languages was organized as an independent unit. Unlike similar groups in other professional

associations, however, the Women's Caucus has continued to hold its annual meetings within the MLA annual convention and with the cooperation of the MLA's programming policies. The MLA's Commission, moreover, has given a formal seat to a representative of the Women's Caucus, as it has to the newer Lesbian Caucus representative. The Lesbian Caucus also holds its special sessions within the scheduled program of the MLA's annual convention. In addition, when the MLA organized itself into more than 70 formal divisions in 1975, Women's Studies in Language and Literature was one of those. It includes over 2,000 persons on its roster, which makes it among the five or six largest divisions in the MLA.

What do these several MLA women's groups see as their responsibility to the association of scholars in language and literature? All of them provide programming in women's studies at the annual convention, and some of them (the commission and the caucuses) on the status of women as well. The Women's Studies in Language and Literature Division is now sponsoring a multivolume Guide to Research in Women's Studies and is discussing its publication with other MLA officials and committees. In connection with this project, the division has begun to accumulate a data base on its members' status and research interests and needs. The MLA has officially taken the responsibility for storing, servicing, and disseminating information about the data base.

Although the amount of financial support for the work of the MLA's Commission on the Status of Women has been slight (approximately \$12,000 annually through the decade), it has been consistent. (The other groups get no funds from the MLA.) In addition, the MLA was supportive of efforts to begin substantial projects on Federal and private funding. At least one of these has produced results directly affecting the literature curriculum in more than 60 institutions.

From 1976 through 1979, the MLA's Commission on the Status of Women, with grants from the Fund for the

Improvement of Postsecondary Education, conducted a project devoted to the teaching of women's literature from a regional perspective. The product of this project was the establishment, in more than 60 English departments across the country, of courses on women's regional literature. As an additional outcome of this project, the National Endowment for the Humanities funded an institute at the University of Alabama in the summer of 1979 for 25 college teachers, all of whom will add permanent courses on women's nontraditional literature to their literature and writing departments.

Activities Beyond Programming

The historians, sociologists, and psychologists -- to choose other instances -- would need to be studied in another fashion. To begin with, women are a smaller proportion in these professional associations than the one third or more they are in the MLA. Although the programming of the American Sociological Association, the American Psychological Association, the American Historical Association, and the Organization of American Historians has included some sessions on women, a major effort of women in these associations has also gone into the annual or biennial conferences held by the Sociologists for Women in Society, the Association of Women Psychologists, and the Berkshire Women's History Conference.

The Berkshire Conference, for example, which has been held four times during the seventies (at Douglass, Radcliffe, Bryn Mawr, and Mount Holyoke) will meet in 1981 at Vassar College. All of its meetings, after the first, have attracted more than 1,000 people, at least a quarter of whom were not historians but were women's studies persons with disciplinary bases in literature or one of the social sciences.

Outside both the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians, but meeting when they do, the Coordinating Committee on

Women in the Historical Profession (CCWHP) has sparked a dozen regional and local associations that meet, issue reports and newsletters with some regularity, and sponsor conferences and major projects of their own. The Metropolitan New York Chapter of CCWHP, for example, began The Institute for Research in History as a "project." The Institute describes itself as "an independent community of scholars engaged in historical research, writing and discussion." It now sponsors research and other publishing projects, the most recent of which is Trends in History, a journal that biannually will review scholarship in history. Its first issue (summer 1979) contains two general surveys of the themes and methods of women's history and 13 more particular reviews of "regions and cultures," ranging from medieval France to modern India.

Inside the AHA, the Committee on Women Historians has sponsored two Summer Institutes in Women's History, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, for high school teachers. The first of these was held at Sarah Lawrence College in 1977, and the second at Stanford University in 1978. Both were under the directorship of Amy Swerdlow, former associate director of women's studies at Sarah Lawrence. As a result of these institutes, the AHA will be publishing two volumes of curricular materials useful for teaching women's history in high schools. It will also be considering future regional meetings on teaching women's history in high schools.

Impact on Institutional Shifts

In addition to convention programming, networking, the publication of women's studies syllabi, bibliographies and other materials, and institutes and other meetings on teaching about women, it is possible to identify several institutional shifts within professional associations attributable to these women's groups. The American Psychological Association, for example, has adopted guidelines on nonsexist language for professional journals that were recently

adopted by the American Sociological Association as well. The ASA's Committee on the Status of Women has been developing guidelines on nonsexist research that call into question certain aspects of existing methodology, mainly sins of omission and ignorance. The guidelines are designed to promote more accurate and systematic research. And we suggest that all research that may come out of this monograph and the others in this NIE series consider these guidelines when they appear.

The Women's Commission within the American Political Science Association, in an effort to open panels to women scholars and feminist scholarship, urged and won modifications in the timing and procedures for selecting the chairpersons and topics for annual conventions. The MLA's Commission on the Status of Women spent several years in pursuit of a policy, newly won, that establishes blind-reviewing of manuscripts submitted to the Association's scholarly journal, PMLA. This effort came out of a study demonstrating a tendency of professional reviewers to rate more highly works or vitae assumed to be from men rather than women. Other women's groups evidence similar changes in the structure, rules, and procedures of professional associations, aimed in part at increasing the participation of women in the profession and in part at responding to the new scholarly concerns generated by women's studies practitioners.

Also as a result of the efforts of women's groups within the professions, certain associations have begun to address themselves to general issues of sexism in curriculum and research. In 1973, for example, a Task Force on Issues of Sexual Bias in Graduate Education, established by the American Psychological Association's Education and Training Board, analyzed sexism in psychology textbooks. Similar studies have been conducted by groups within the American Library Association on young adult books and library materials for children. Quite recently, the Council of the Organization of American Historians

approved an effort to produce materials designed to correct biases in basic American history courses.

Impact on Scholarly Practice

Research on the professional associations might also be focused on still other means of raising women's studies issues within particular constituencies. In 1975, for example, the American Psychological Association formally inquired about the interest of graduate faculty in the psychology of women -- a useful means for suggesting that the area might properly be on graduate school agendas. Similarly, the fall 1978 issue of Monatshefte contains the results of a survey of "Women in German Literature and Culture," which "investigates the extent to which departments of German have introduced courses dealing with German women, either as writers or as a literary topic, the participation of German Departments in Women's Studies Programs, and the available personnel" (Women in German, No. 16, November 30, 1978). Although these instances hardly demonstrate that the mainstream professional associations and journals have become active promoters of women's studies, they do suggest gradual motion in the associations to respond to the priorities and needs of the women's studies movement.

Since the ostensible purpose of academic professional associations is the pursuit and promotion of knowledge, the ultimate test of the impact of women's studies will be registered in changes in the professions' research directions during the eighties and beyond. Research agendas in some professions and in certain disciplines already have been significantly altered, as is the case, for example, among motivational researchers and anthropologists concerned with the origins of tools and social production. Feminist scholarship in these and in many other areas has succeeded in developing a body of significant scholarship large enough that a recent annotated bibliography in women's studies of books on anthropology, business,

economics, education, fine arts, photography, film, music, history, languages and linguistics, law, literature, medicine, health, sexuality, biology, politics and political theory, psychology, religion, philosophy, sociology, sports, and general reference works and works on the "women's movement and feminist theory" includes 1,748 items.⁵ And a recently published bibliography of bibliographies includes 391 annotated entries, all relevant to women's studies, organized by topic and traditional disciplinary interest.⁶

In some disciplines, whole new areas of scholarly research have been developed within the last decade -- research on the status of women in classical antiquity, for example, or on the history and achievement of women artists, on the images of women in literature and other arts, and on the sociobiology of sex roles. Women in mathematics and the sciences, including psychology, have turned to research both on the history of their disciplines -- and especially of women in them -- and on educational as distinct from purely mathematical or theoretical problems. Observing that the absence of training in mathematics filters women out of careers in science, engineering, and the hard social sciences, feminist mathematicians and psychologists have devoted research to the institutional factors responsible for such patterns, as well as to a variety of means for changing them.⁷

Equally important, interdisciplinary areas of research have been emphasized both by a variety of professional associations and by women's studies scholars within them. Among the major areas of consideration are the family, work, education, and health -- areas that have been central to annual conventions in almost all of the social sciences, as well as in the humanities and the hard sciences. We would hypothesize that such areas also increasingly are the focus of dissertations, whether in the humanities, the social sciences, or a variety of disciplines.

Tracing the shifts in scholarly practice and research may finally be impossible. But the scholar of the future will have as one practical guide to these early years the Review Essays that have been appearing in SIGNS: Journal of Women in Culture and Society since 1975. Fifty of these reviews of recent scholarship have been published thus far; about half of these have been on the traditional disciplines, mainly in the humanities and social sciences, and about half on new and/or interdisciplinary areas.

We have appended the list of Review Essay topics to the bibliography, since they provide an outline for the future researchers of impact. They also illuminate the two major tendencies in women's studies: to add to or shift the disciplines by focusing on women; and to chart areas ordinarily excluded from those disciplines (housework, for example) that are essential to the study of women. In all cases, the effort is similar: to shift the scholarly lens so that it is focused not only on women, but on their perceptions of reality; not only on what women were doing 1,000 years ago or even 10, but on what they were thinking about. All writings and artifacts by women have become essential tools in this effort to fill in scholarship's century of ignorance about women.

Observations on the Future

We can only hypothesize about the future of women's studies, since we hope that researchers will want to chart its course through the next several decades. We expect that, in addition to adding the consciousness of women and the significance of gender to scholarly concerns, women's studies will also serve to correct academe's misleading allegiance to objectivity and its dangerous tendency to confuse the frank admission of perspective with bias. We would look, a decade from now, for reviews in scholarly journals of new textbooks in disciplines that make such scholarship part of the standard fare of students.

5. RECOMMENDATION: A LONGITUDINAL DATA BASE FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES

The single most comprehensive recommendation to come out of this review is for the development of a longitudinal data base for women's studies. This section of the monograph discusses the issues involved in the establishment of such a data base, the items it should contain, and additional related recommendations. Section 6 is devoted to a discussion of recommendations regarding key issues in policy and research in women's studies.

Need for Data Base

Data collection is a time-consuming process. This is particularly true for the coordinators of women's studies programs who are called upon by individual researchers, as well as by their own institutions, to do such work. It is not uncommon to find comments by women's studies coordinators in their annual reports about the time they have devoted to filling out questionnaires.

In preparing this monograph, we have found coordinators to be extraordinarily helpful and receptive. Often, they have written lengthy letters, in addition to mailing the requested program reports. Volunteerism and commitment have, of course, been characteristic of the women's studies movement, which exists because of countless unpaid hours spent in new course development, committee work, and research. But we can envisage a proliferation of requests from researchers beyond even the capacities of cooperative, well-intentioned program coordinators.

There is, of course, another side to the issue of supplying information to researchers: program coordinators quite correctly expect that the research will, in some way, be of use to women's studies in general, if not to their own particular needs.

Although one cannot guarantee the soundness of each research project, each is dependent on the number of responses at least as much as on any other factor. Thus, as program coordinators become inundated with requests, they may be able to respond less frequently, thus diminishing the potential importance of such research in general.

For the researcher, the existence of a data bank on women's studies would mean that attention could be focused on significant issues, rather than on the major effort it now takes to collect even relatively simple information from which to specify these issues. Even more important from both the researcher's and the program's point of view, a longitudinal data base would help to correct misleading generalizations that are based on a cross-section of programs in various stages of development. Comparing programs in similar stages of development may be more useful than simply comparing them in the same year. Or if one compared a variety of programs in the same year, it would be essential to know whether each program was in its first, fifth, or ninth year of existence.

Ultimately, for higher education in general, there are other reasons for recommending the creation of a longitudinal data base on women's studies. Because women's studies is a broad, interdisciplinary area for curriculum development and research, charting its growth and development is of interest to more than a few specialists. Given the dual mission of women's studies of developing as an interdisciplinary area of study and changing the mainstream disciplines, charting its course will provide a unique case study of such processes in higher education. Finally, because the mission of women's studies coincides with the more general mission in higher education of improving or establishing educational equity for women, charting its course will allow that progress to be noted.

Perhaps it is important to point out that we see this data base as distinct from the potential "archive" of documents that we will separately discuss and make recommendations about. We see this effort as a novel one, to be carried out by the National Institute of Education or by a center, institution, or group that it chooses. We see it beginning to collect the essential information both from existing women's studies programs and from programs being formed. Before turning to the items to be included in such a data base, we offer the following recommendations about the process of establishing this data base.

1. Program coordinators or other personnel asked to provide data should be regarded as consultants and should be compensated as such. This might allow programs to employ graduate students as research assistants.
2. Where possible institutionally, college and university research personnel should be asked to adapt their processes of gathering and analyzing data so that they may more fully contribute to this research agenda. To facilitate this activity, NIE should produce a pamphlet/handbook outlining institutional research strategies focused on interdisciplinary programs, including women's studies.
3. Colleges and universities should be urged to adopt clear policies with regard to the ability of women's studies programs to make public particular statistical data, including budget data.
4. When guidelines for nonsexist research methods, now being reviewed in the American Sociological Association, become available, they should be consulted before beginning the extensive data surveys outlined below.

Items To Be Included In Longitudinal Data Base

The following sections discuss 10 separate items, with occasional notice taken of their complex relationships. In each case, we have tried to suggest the kinds of data that need to be collected and that can be collected annually. In most cases, we suggest key questions that the data should help to answer as a means of establishing the significance of their collection. And in all cases, we have thought of two needs: the need for accurate information about how women's studies programs are working on campuses, and how such work has developed year by year, and the need for accurate information that will allow the measurement of impact in a complex fashion and longitudinally.

We have tried to be inclusive, although we have not, we know, been exhaustive.¹ Were this plan to be implemented, we would expect the National Institute of Education to hold a small planning conference that would include a significant proportion of women's studies coordinators from a variety of institutions.

Enrollments

Enrollments need to be charted not only course by course and over time, but in relation to the relevant student population. In an undergraduate institution, relevant generally means all undergraduates. But in universities where sharp distinctions exist among separate colleges, it can be misleading to use a figure for all undergraduates, especially since women's studies is usually located in arts and sciences departments. On the other hand, detailed enrollment statistics can indicate the areas of a campus into which women's studies has not adequately reached. Seen over time and for many institutions, enrollment data can be helpful in establishing curricular trends.

In some institutions enrollments are highly dependent on whether a course is a general elective, a college, department, or program requirement, or one of several courses that can satisfy a requirement. Women's studies enrollments, which, in the main, have been high, should be charted comparatively within such categories.

Internal reports of women's studies programs often include expressions of concern about the dilemma of enrollments "in women's studies" when courses that the program "coordinates" are actually given within traditional departments. Put more plainly, the issue may become: "Who gets the FTEs?" Although we make specific suggestions below, in the section headed "Budget," it is important to note that internal accounting requirements need not control the accumulation of data. Whether or not women's studies courses would exist without a women's studies program begs the question of its existence. The purpose of data collection assumes an interest in enrollments in courses grouped under the title "women's studies," regardless of their departmental origin, although the data should take note of that information as well.

Degrees and Certificates Granted

Since 1970, Howe has been charting data on degrees and certificates granted (see section 3 and references to data collected and published in the Women's Studies Newsletter and elsewhere). But a new longitudinal effort could gather information about majors and minors with the kind of sophistication now needed.

Most women's studies programs began as loose collections of courses, offered in a variety of departments, with the intent of supplementing the male-centered curriculum rather than organizing an alternative to it. Only a few programs begun in the early seventies offered a curriculum designed for majors and, for the most part, the bachelor's degree

thus granted was part of a university-wide effort to allow interdisciplinary or liberal studies degrees. In the early seventies also, especially in California, programs instituted minors in women's studies. Again, the impulse was supplementary. Until 1976, however, the majority of programs did not offer a structured curriculum to majors or minors.

In the last years of the seventies, a different pattern emerged. Although all programs still offer a variety of courses that supplement the mainstream curriculum, more than half of the programs now offer some structured curriculum to majors and minors. The timing process by which such development has occurred in older programs needs charting. This should be done also for new programs, such as that begun in 1978 at Case-Western Reserve, which offers bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees in women's studies under the wing of American studies.

Data need to be collected that will separate autonomous bachelor's programs from individualized ones and from those that allow students to concentrate in women's studies while earning, for example, a liberal studies degree. Similarly, distinctions need to be made between the certificate that is comparable to a minor and the one, as in the State of Oregon, that describes a major or concentration in an interdisciplinary area of study. It will also be useful to distinguish between majors that organize streams of study around central themes (public policy, health care, humanities, etc.) and those that are organized to supplement or complement traditional majors (and are, occasionally, called dual or corollary majors).

Such data should be categorized by the age of a program, its institutional status, its budget, and the location and status of its faculty, as well as by general enrollment figures. It will also be useful to consider such data in relation to a program's

conception of general goals: How important is it for the program to produce specialists? Or is it of equal importance to supplement the curriculum for a very broad constituency of students, and to work with faculty to change the mainstream? How are such goals balanced? Do they conflict with each other? Such significant questions cannot be addressed until data are available on the kinds of structured curriculum programs offer.

Courses: Number, Nature, and Location

There is probably no better single indicator of both the growth of women's studies programs and their impact on an institution's curriculum than the number of courses added annually. Although raw numbers are, in themselves, significant, such figures need to be supplemented by answers to such key questions as the following:

1. What courses are contained in the program's core curriculum? Are these courses regularly offered, and are they taken by all women's studies students or by most majors or minors? Does this core begin with one or two introductory/interdisciplinary seminars? Who teaches the core -- regular or adjunct women's studies faculty?
2. Does the women's studies program have its own catalog space? Are its courses listed and described in detail? Do the catalogs have women's studies names and numbers, or are they departmentally named and controlled? Are cross-listings (with departments) of individual courses possible?
3. Have women's studies courses regularly and permanently been added to the curriculum, or are they imbedded in topics or special studies courses, whose content can be changed and may therefore be impermanent?

4. How many courses have been added to the formal college catalog? In which departments? How has that changed over time? (Seven Years Later suggests the importance, in assessing institutional impact, not only of the numbers of courses added to the catalog, but their visibility in it, which may or may not be correlated with the physical visibility of women's studies on campus.)
5. Have departments initiated women's studies courses that later are cross-listed by women's studies? Are departments receptive to proposed cross-listing by women's studies?
6. Have formal ties been established between women's studies and departments or larger units of a university, which themselves do not offer or offer only one or two women's studies courses? For example, at Sonoma State University in California, the Management Department requires its master's candidates to take courses in five core areas, one of which is ethnic or women's studies. Alternatively, courses proposing to alleviate math and science anxiety might be offered by mathematics or science departments as a service to women's studies. The issue here is the integration of women's studies into the formal network of academic exchanges.
7. Are all women's studies courses general electives, or have some of them come to satisfy women's studies, departmental, or college requirements? Faculties are, of course, peculiarly sensitive to requirements. Thus, the transformation of a women's studies course into a requirement outside the women's studies major indicates a significant degree of institutional impact.

8. Have distinctions been made between women's studies courses (i.e., those formally listed as such in documents issued by the program) and women's-studies-related courses? Presumably, such distinctions would reflect a program's effort to monitor and control its curriculum.
9. Have specific courses been designed for the curriculum in order to help recruit certain groups of students? California Lutheran College, for example, offers a course called "Women in Transition," which appears to be consciously designed to attract re-entry women. In a period of declining enrollments, the ability of a women's studies program to devise and control courses that recruit students to it (and to the institutions more generally) is a significant index of institutional impact.

Seven Years Later raises the further question of whether a relationship can be established between the existence of a women's studies program, having its own courses and course numbers, and the development of women's studies courses in other major departments. We explore the issues involved in this question below; we wish only to note here that data ought to be collected so that courses with formal women's studies numbers and women's studies courses with other departmental designations can be seen separately.

Faculty

The development and influence of women's studies cannot be measured simply by numbers of faculty specifically and exclusively assigned to the program. Such assignments, however, are not irrelevant measures, although their significance needs to be assessed in relation to other factors, including the presence or absence of a program's choice in the matter. At San Francisco State and at the University

of Hawaii, for example, program participants decided to divide the full-time teaching lines assigned to the program, rather than hire full-time teaching personnel. Thus, they deliberately avoided the question of full-time tenure-track lines, and chose to hire more individuals part-time. Since the staffing patterns of programs vary widely, one important question concerns the decisionmaking powers of each program about such patterns.

Of equal importance are the number of faculty drawn from traditional departments to teach women's studies courses and the variety of departments from which they are drawn, as well as the pattern of this activity over the years. Has the women's studies network been extended each year into new departments, to reach new faculty? Or has it widened within departments?

Questions of faculty tenure and rank are also significant. It is fair to say that, in many instances, the presence of tenured faculty helped to initiate women's studies programs. In others, the untenured faculty who did the early work lost their opportunities for tenure thereby. Data on women's studies faculty, whether located in departments or in the programs themselves, would be useful in assessing the patterns of retention or dismissal for such faculty.

Similarly, such data would help to chart the ways in which institutions are dealing with the question of tenure for faculty who have been as active in women's studies as in another traditional department. In the case of joint appointments, which unit has the decisive voice? If the appointment is formally in one unit, what voice does the other have in the tenure decision?

Finally, data are needed to assess the use of part-time, nontenure-track teaching faculty, especially in comparison to practices in other units of the institutions.

The Coordinator

While Wood, Deutsch, and Howe have studied in some detail the status, role, appointment, and authority of women's studies coordinators, variations in their data bases lead to discrepancies in their findings. For example, in Seven Years Later, Howe reports that some 33 percent of the coordinators in her sample of 15 were tenured, and that more than half held administrative, nontenure-track appointments. Wood's data indicate that about 37 percent of the coordinators in her sample of 162 were tenured and another 21 percent were on tenure-tracks. Of the remaining 42 percent, only about 7 percent were identified as administrators, a finding that may differ from Howe's or may be a function of coordinators' differing understandings of the categories in Wood's questionnaire.

Of course, not all coordinators serve full-time, nor are all paid for the job of coordinating. Nor are all coordinators recognized as such within an administrative hierarchy and by colleagues and students. As in other aspects of women's studies, there is still, at one end of the spectrum, volunteerism; at the other, however, there are an increasing number of tenured faculty and administrative high-salaried appointments. This is especially true at major universities, some of which are also engaged in spawning women's studies research institutes.

Data collection needs to include all descriptive matters mentioned (full/part-time, tenured/nontenured/administrative, rank and salary, length of appointment), as well as duties (how much teaching is required beyond the administrative work?) and reporting mechanisms (to whom does the coordinator report?). This last question is especially important in determining the status of the program. Thus, information should be gathered that clearly indicates whether the program coordinator has the status and privileges of a department chair or of other program

chairs. Such information can be obtained by asking not only whether the coordinator meets with other department chairs, but by focusing on such issues as the coordinator's responsibility for a budget and for the appointment, retention, and tenure of women's studies faculty.

The collection of these data should lead to further understanding of the relationship between the coordinator's appointment and the status of a program. However, it must be noted that the interpretation of such data is especially vulnerable to subjective conclusions. Providing an administrative appointment for a coordinator, for example, can be seen as depriving her of status and authority within the faculty. On the other hand, it can also be seen as a protective measure for a person whose administrative tasks make her peculiarly vulnerable to traditional faculty evaluation procedures, with an emphasis on disciplinary scholarly productivity.

On the face of it, the appointment of a tenured faculty member as coordinator should be advantageous for the program, since the tenured person should lend status and provide the program with stability. In fact, as Wood points out, such tenured faculty often are asked to take on the coordinator's job either as an overload or with minimum released time, thus seriously limiting the time they can devote to women's studies program development. In contrast, a nontenure-track full-time coordinator may actually serve to strengthen the program, at least given the time available for its development.

Supporting Staff and Space

Patterns of supporting staff in women's studies vary as widely as patterns of coordinators. Programs may be staffed with full-time secretaries, part-time work/study students, or some combination of the two. Staff may also include administrative associates, counselors, and advisors, some or all of whom may also

be graduate students on assistantships. Or the program's secretarial, counseling, and advisory staff may all be teaching personnel who have volunteered for these additional duties.

The presence or absence of adequate supporting personnel may correlate directly with a program's ability to apply for grants from outside agencies, as well as to maintain and gain increased budgets from host institutions. Collection of data in this area would clarify these issues.

The institutional space allotted to women's studies is still another indicator of its status, as well as a possible correlate to its ability to function for the broadest clientele. Programs are not always housed in their own space, but, rather, in the office of the person who happens to be the coordinator. Programs that do have their own space may have it assigned in a suite of rooms near other academic departments or programs in a building that usually houses classrooms and faculty. Or they may be assigned space in unique places, such as the library, the administration building, the student union, or a near-abandoned building on the edge of the campus. The space assigned may also hold the women's center or other women-related projects. Or the women's studies program may be the umbrella for all such projects.

Data collected should include the specifications of floor space, the number of rooms assigned, and the presence of meeting or conference rooms.

Budget

The ranges of specific budgets of women's studies programs are relatively easily established: the basic parameters are outlined in Seven Years Later and confirmed by Deutsch. It is also common knowledge that most women's studies programs operate on slim budgets and the enormous expense of time volunteered by committed feminists.

Nevertheless, program budgets need to be plotted over time and described in real dollar figures (to correct for inflation) and against broader college norms and other comparable budgets. To say that the women's studies budget has increased by 8 percent when inflation undermines values by more than that may speak of slippage, not advance. On the other hand, if the overall college budget increased by only 4 percent and if other arts and sciences budgets remained stationary, then an 8 percent increase may reflect a significant institutional commitment. Given the small size of most women's studies budgets, of course, that commitment may be more symbolic than substantial.

A budget can be quantified, to some degree, through the use of cost/student credit hour figures. In women's studies, however, other factors complicate statistical life. Since a majority of women's studies courses are taught outside the program, it may seem difficult to decide whether to assign FTEs to the department or to women's studies. At the University of Washington, for example, students can register for the same course either through women's studies or through a department, depending on the student's preferences and needs. But even that procedure is not a guarantor of more than FTE distinctions, since a student may be pursuing the dual goals of taking a women's studies course and satisfying a departmental requirement through a registration device.

For the sake of budget comparisons, however, it should be possible to establish a cost/student credit hour figure for women's studies courses both inside and outside of other departments; for departments' non-women's studies courses; for departments having no women's studies courses; and for the division, college, or university as a whole. It will be helpful if figures for lower division, upper division, and graduate courses are distinguished from each other, as well as from laboratory courses.

The data collected should help to clarify factors influencing the size of a budget, as well as the items the budget is assigned to support. Deutsch suggests that enrollments seem less important as a determinant of budget size than the number of courses offered by a women's studies program. But factors such as a program's age, the number of departments involved in women's studies, and the status of the coordinator also may be influential. And their impact may change over time as a program matures and grows. Similarly, as a program grows, new line items such as library acquisitions, funds for travel, funds for developing grant proposals, and conference funds may come into the budget, in addition to the usual salaries, supplies, supplementary teaching budget, and actual faculty salaries budget.

Still another problem has to do with the real and ostensible budgets of women's studies programs. Because it is a program, women's studies often has access to the funds of departments in which women's studies faculty are located for such expenditures as photocopying, postage, and travel. We are not suggesting that huge amounts of money are siphoned off into women's studies, for common observation makes clear that that is not the case. But in establishing the reliability of cost/student credit hour figures or whatever measure is chosen, it is important that comparability be established between most departments and women's studies. It seems logical, in this case, to err on the side of somewhat overstating departmental funds available to women's studies, since the cost/student credit hour of most women's studies programs is not likely to be significantly raised.

Comparability must also be maintained when raising questions about the availability of funds. Wood, for example, comments on the absence of research funds from most women's studies program budgets, yet comparable departments at undergraduate institutions may not have such funds either.

Comparisons among various institutions offer further problems, as in most fiscal studies of education. It is difficult to compare the public resources of CUNY's Brooklyn College, for example, with the small, private Sarah Lawrence. We do not believe that efforts to draw general comparisons between all institutions will be successful or useful. More meaningful are historical patterns of funding within institutions, because these often reflect impact as well as the realities of power.

Further, certain budget items have symbolic significance out of proportion to their size. The establishment by an institution of student prizes in women's studies, for example, suggests a degree of acceptance and permanence. Similarly, making faculty development funds available to establish new units or courses in women's studies, as at Oberlin College, the College of Wooster, and California State University/Hayward, may measure institutional impact. Again, only internal comparisons seem relevant here, since one institution's symbol may be another's norm.

Library Resources

The availability of library resources in women's studies may be a sensitive and relatively objective measure of a program's impact on an institution. Holdings of journals, books, bibliographies, and other essential scholarly tools can be measured against norms, as can budgets for retrospective and special collection purchasing. We recommend consulting with librarians at well-developed women's studies libraries (Ohio State, the University of Kansas, and the Schlesinger Library, for example) in creating checklists of key items against which data can be retrieved.

Both the size and the growth of women's studies' acquisition budgets need to be surveyed, as do the methods used for informing the institution of new acquisitions. Comparable data need to be extrapolated

about ordinary departmental library budgets and other interdisciplinary ones. How are questions of disciplinary materials in women's studies handled? Are there arrangements for sharing major library purchases, say, with the history department?

Still other issues that need to be addressed include: Is the women's studies library collection housed in a separate place in the library? Is there an additional library in the program's offices? Is there a publication that announces (or reviews) new books or periodicals in women's studies? If so, who is responsible for this publication? Have library acquisitions for the rare book or manuscript collections been affected by the presence of the women's studies program? Or are materials already held by the library now actually being used? Have they been indexed or catalogued recently, because of this use?

Governance

Governance is, relatively speaking, an unexplored area. While the key person is the coordinator, there are two critical relationships -- with the institutional chain of command, and with the women's studies committee (whatever its name). For the most part, programs are governed by coordinators and committees. And for the most part, coordinators with institutional appointments answer to a dean.

With respect to the relationship between the coordinator and that dean, a number of questions can be framed under the rubric of the coordinator's assignment. These have been dealt with in our discussion of the role of the coordinator.

With respect to a women's studies committee, data need to be collected about its membership over time, including such information as the rank, status, and discipline of faculty, the status and major of

students, the status of administrators and other staff personnel, and the status of community members, if any. To assess how or whether the women's studies committee has been integrated into the institutional power structure, it may be helpful to collect data on the other committee responsibilities of its members.

Data are also needed about the methods of recruiting committee members, the terms of appointment, whether the appointment has been made by the dean or is a voluntary assignment, and to whom the committee must report. In some cases, the women's studies committee elects its own chair and the coordinator does not have a vote. Such information is, of course, significant, as is information on the functions and power of women's studies committees. Such data should include matters related to the process of decisionmaking (voting, consensus, etc.) and the focus of decisionmaking: does the committee have the power to recommend the hiring or firing of the coordinator and of other women's studies personnel? Does the committee have the power to accept or reject courses into the curriculum and to approve the budget?

Where women's studies programs are large and course offerings number more than 50 annually, women's studies committees may have subcommittees to focus on such specific matters as curriculum or hiring of faculty. Data should be collected, again if possible over time, so that it is possible to see the development of and interconnections between those who teach and those who help to administer a women's studies program, as well as their relationships to the host institution. Although membership on women's studies committees may have begun as part of a faculty member's personal commitment to feminist goals, data might reveal that, over time, such committee membership is expected of faculty in general.

With regard to students who are members of women's studies committees, data should be collected

on the length of their tenure and on whether their work is treated as a voluntary or a credit-earning activity.

On some campuses, the women's studies committee has become involved in areas of campus reform that can be seen as significant for the study of the program's impact. At Northeastern Illinois University, for example, a subcommittee of the Women's Studies Governing Board, the Committee on Nonsexist Communication, succeeded in changing sexist catalog language, as well as course titles and descriptions. As one person put it, "No more 'Man and His Environment.'" On other campuses, women's studies has been responsible for the adoption of nonsexist language policies by entire faculties at formal meetings. Such efforts may, without careful attention to their possible existence, go unrecorded in data collection.

Outreach

To account for a great variety of extracurricular work of women's studies programs that impacts on the campus and community, data are required in several areas, as outlined below. With respect to data gathering, some of these need be viewed as a checklist (again, over time), while others need more complex information, including budget and staffing data.

Cultural and Educational Programs for Campus and Community. Such programs, arranged by the women's studies program, may be regular weekly brown-bag luncheons, a film program, or an annual women's studies conference. The data collected should include the numbers of people attending; the willingness of other faculty, staff, and students to commit their energies to presentations, panels, and planning activities; and the sources of financial support.

One particularly important form of such programs is a seminar designed to encourage faculty to revise their curriculum so as to include women or to begin to

consider the possibility of retooling sufficiently to give a women's studies course. Some of these activities may be billed as "faculty development." On many campuses, however, those words are not attractive to faculty who would rather attend a weekend "Workshop in Feminist Literary Criticism."

Publication Projects. Some women's studies programs have had institutional support for the publication of newsletters, quarterly journals, or occasional papers, including monographs on conferences. The data collected should include budget and staffing information, as well as information about the accountability of such projects to the women's studies coordinator or committee.

Research Centers. Several women's studies programs have planned and received both institutional support and outside funding for the establishment of research centers or institutes. Data collected should include budget and staffing information, as well as information about relationships to the women's studies program, and especially to its curricular focus and students' interests.

Institutes for the Education of Teachers. Several women's studies programs have offered summer institutes or inservice courses to elementary and high school teachers interested in the revision of their curriculum. The data collected should include funding sources and budget, staffing patterns, and information about relationships to the women's studies program.

Formal and Informal Relationships with Other Women-Centered Units on Campus. On large university campuses, the women's studies program may be augmented by a women's center and a continuing education program for women, as well as by an affirmative action program and a women's political action coordinating committee. The data collected should include information about the overlapping membership of committees serving each of these units, and

especially about the coordinator's participation on them. Information should also include administrative attempts to consult about and coordinate activities and to share budget resources, libraries, and expertise.

In smaller institutions, where the women's studies program is expected to serve as the women-centered unit on campus, data should reflect its other functions -- as a clearinghouse for affirmative action information or as a counseling center, for example.

Formal and Informal Relationships with Women's Programs and Projects in the Community. For many programs, outreach into the community is a major concern. The community may be conceived as the place from whence come the re-entry women students, who may be the mainstay of the program's enrollments. The community may also be conceived as feminist projects in whose offices women's studies majors find part-time employment or a source of internships and field placements. The community may also be conceived as the grass-roots feminists, whose needs women's studies is serving by reforming education.

Thus, the data collected should include information about such efforts as a speakers bureau that organizes faculty to give talks off campus, about women's studies program representation on community project boards and committees, and about community participation and representation on women's studies committees and projects.

Finally, an attempt should be made to determine if there are other services that women's studies performs for the community. On some campuses, women's studies programs have spawned combined recruitment and education programs for women who would not ordinarily consider going to college, such as has been done by Brooklyn College/CUNY with its Project Second Chance.

Inter-College Cooperation: Relations with the National Women's Studies Association. Increasingly, women's studies programs are engaged in their own forms of networking -- in local communities that are rich in colleges and universities, in statewide associations, in the 12 regional associations of NWSA, and in NWSA itself. Some programs have taken major responsibility (the University of Pennsylvania, for example) for organizing a consortium of women's studies programs that have gone on to hold significant cultural events in the area, including conferences, and to sponsor several feminist projects, including a book and crafts shop and a food service.

Women's studies programs have also taken responsibility for holding statewide, regional, and national NWSA conferences. Data collection should include such matters as the allocation and expenditure of program resources (budget, time, and staff) on such projects, as well as institutional support for them. It should also include attendance, especially of members of the host institution.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS: KEY ISSUES IN POLICY AND RESEARCH

This section is organized in terms of particular recommendations within four broad categories: curriculum, faculty, institutionalization, and graduate study. We begin with a recommendation for the establishment of a national women's studies archive and conclude with a brief note about feminism and the academy. We remind readers that the omission of students is purposeful, since other monographs in the series focus on students.

Recommendations on Curriculum

Establish National Archive of Women's Studies

We recommend that a National Archive of Women's Studies be established, in which those historical materials collected to date by groups and individuals can be deposited, indexed, and organized for use by teachers, researchers, and program developers. Further, we recommend that the archive be organized so that it can continue to collect and make available new, annually solicited documents.

In some measure, the discussion of the need for a longitudinal data base serves here as well. The recommended archive would collect documents for the types of research that the data base could not alone support. Such documents would include program reports, course syllabi, external and internal evaluations, grant proposals, and key correspondence. Further, because there is no single institution responsible for collecting women's studies materials emanating from commissions, caucuses, and committees within and outside professional associations, the archive should also collect such materials. These would include reports, surveys, newsletters, and occasional publications, as well as convention programming.

Especially with regard to curriculum, such an archive would be useful both to individuals wishing to develop new courses and to researchers wishing to chart curricular change. Analysis of syllabi, especially in collaboration with other instruments, is a key procedure for evaluating the impact of women's studies on higher education.

Encourage Studies of
Program Impact on Curriculum

We recommend that NIE encourage women's caucuses, commissions, and committees of professional associations to study the impact of women's studies on the curriculums of their disciplines, across institutions. Such efforts would involve using and helping to collect syllabi for and from the National Archive of Women's Studies, using also those texts that are key to their disciplines, and focusing especially on courses required of all students or specialists in their disciplines, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

We consider that this would be a useful procedure for replicating and improving on Banner's Princeton study. We believe that scholars who know the discipline can best evaluate not only whether change has occurred, but whether it can be called impact and whether women's studies may be considered a significant factor in the process. It may be essential, in particular disciplines, to gather pre-women's studies data before attempting such a study. In literature, for example, it may be possible to gather from departmental files detailed descriptions of courses and titles of texts used a decade ago that would reveal dimensions of change that a simple study in 1979 or 1980 would not. It would be important to include in the sample institutions in which no women's studies program has been developed, as well as those having large programs.

We would also urge such caucuses, commissions, and committees to take responsibility for reporting to their professions about the continuing state of the male-centered curriculum, about models of reformed programs, about the need for new texts in particular areas, and about the existence of useful new texts. We make such recommendations conscious that the essential work of such groups in the late sixties and early seventies made possible the rapid development of women's studies courses and programs. We see the second goal of women's studies -- changing the mainstream curriculum -- as a major effort of the eighties that cannot be accomplished without the energies of these key groups.

Undertake Projects To Change Traditional Curriculum

We have three other recommendations to make for assessing the impact of women's studies on the curriculum. The first of these builds on the model in progress by Froines and Merlin. The other two are new ideas that attempt to combine assessment and development. For ultimately, the impact of women's studies will be gauged not by whether it generates new courses focused on women, but rather by whether it changes the male-centered curriculum.

Thus, we are proposing projects that allow for the potential diffusion of women's studies materials into traditional courses. We suggest choosing from among groups of campuses with the interest and ability to work with the projects suggested below. Though the projects differ, their ultimate goal is similar: to infuse male-centered courses with materials and perspectives from women's studies.

The issue here is not only the production of curriculum materials where necessary, although this is not an irrelevant consideration. However, in many disciplines, the materials already exist and in profusion. Nor is the issue simply inclusion of some

materials on women in otherwise unchanged syllabi, although in certain areas that alone would be a step of some significance. Fundamentally, the problem has to do with the reexamination of curriculum from a new feminist perspective. To offer but one example, in history, women not only have been left out, but the categories of curricular organization, and especially introductory courses that traditionally have focused on public and military events, have obscured what was happening to them.

The specific projects recommended are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Replicate Froines and Merlin Study. We recommend that NIE fund the replication of the Froines and Merlin study on a significant number of other campuses, and that NIE take responsibility for convening those carrying out such studies and for disseminating their results.

Although it is too early to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the survey carried out by Froines and Merlin, their general strategy has clear virtues. It includes an effort to consider every aspect of a college's curriculum; it attempts to enlist the aid and interest of all faculty, not only women's studies coordinators and department chairpersons; and it attempts to elicit the specific detail that, upon analysis, may confirm or deny generalizations that faculty or students make about courses. Further, the study begins from a sound organizational base -- a Committee on the Status of Women in the Curriculum -- that provides institutional logic to the inquiry.

In replicating the study, care should be taken to encourage formation of an institutional vehicle similar to that used by Froines and Merlin. In addition, the institutions chosen for study should provide for diversity not only in size, location, and governance, but in the age and stages of development of their women's studies programs as well. Further,

we believe that a control group of institutions not having formal women's studies programs would be helpful in ascertaining whether such programs do in fact act as catalysts for change.

Effect and Measure Change in Mainstream Curriculum. We recommend the design, funding, and implementation of a curricular project at selected institutions to effect and measure change in mainstream curricula, especially in introductory courses, to identify effective tactics in achieving such change, and to discover means for replicating it. Like the Froines and Merlin effort, this project would attempt to produce and study the mainstreaming of women's studies from a vantage point on a particular campus, within a particular department or departments. It would be useful, we believe, to conduct the project on a number of campuses across the country simultaneously, so that representatives of such departments could meet to discuss, compare, and share strategies.

Clearly, particular faculty members in a department would have to be willing to participate, and the department as a whole would have to be willing to cooperate to the extent of allowing or supporting the participation of selected members. Participants would need time and support for their efforts. Where the results include the production of new curricular materials, the project should include methods of testing and producing them. Finally, ongoing evaluation procedures of a developmental nature need to be built into the project from its beginning.

Assist Campuses To Identify and Develop General Education Curriculum. We recommend that a project be organized and funded to offer assistance to campuses attempting to identify and develop a general education curriculum so that the decade of work in women's studies could be incorporated into those efforts. We

further recommend, as part of this project, that a volume of essays on the usefulness of the women's studies curriculum as a model for general education be commissioned and disseminated.

In addresses written for the American Association of Higher Education in March 1977, we suggested that a series of women's studies courses would provide an excellent general education core curriculum. Women's studies focuses the intellectual strategies of a variety of disciplines on a central set of issues; it is concerned with the implications of the past and the present for the future; it involves questions of value, questions of fact, and questions of interpretation; and it engages students' interest and feelings. All of these are, ostensibly, among the basic objectives of general education curricula.

In at least a few institutions, women's studies courses have been included among general education options. We believe that it will be of importance in the eighties to consider, in advance of its development, an area of curriculum in which work is only beginning. We are aware that new general education courses, once organized in the traditional, male-centered forms of the mainstream curriculum, will be difficult to change.

Recommendations on Faculty

In assessing the impact of women's studies on faculty, it is necessary to distinguish between two groups: those who regularly teach women's studies courses, and -- the majority -- those who do not. The questions to be answered about the impact of women's studies on these two groups are rather different. For those who do not regularly teach women's studies courses, one wants to know whether, when, and how women's studies materials and perspectives might reach them and affect their teaching. For the most part, the strategies and recommendations presented regarding

curriculum are aimed at this group. With respect to the faculty who regularly teach women's studies, we have two major recommendations.

Compile Directory of
Women's Studies Faculty

We recommend that a directory of women's studies faculty be compiled and disseminated by the National Women's Studies Association, and that this directory be updated annually.

Because women's studies is an interdisciplinary area, such a directory should be more than a listing of members of other professional disciplines or associations. We suggest that disciplinary connections, where relevant, be part of the directory, and we are thinking both of membership in associations other than the NWSA, as well as faculty appointments in departments or programs other than women's studies. We are also concerned that the directory allow visibility of the research areas of faculty members. Although such a directory would not answer more complex questions for which a study would be required, it would provide the base from which studies could proceed.

Study Impact of
Women's Studies Courses on Faculty

We recommend that studies of the impact of women's studies on faculty who teach such courses regularly be authorized in four areas: status; research and scholarship; curriculum taught outside women's studies per se; and teaching methods.

First, the impact of women's studies on faculty status is an area in which there has been a great deal of speculation and no studies. Has association with women's studies affected the status of faculty and program administrators? Are women's studies participants at lower ranks, are they less likely to obtain

tenure, or is their informal status on campus enhanced by their participation in women's studies? Although we recognize that it would be difficult to make generalizations that hold for all campuses and in programs of all ages and sizes, we believe that an effort should be made to identify institutional factors that seem to impact on status. It may be, for example, that, on more prestigious campuses, association with women's studies is a liability, whereas on less elite and more entrepreneurial campuses such an identification is helpful toward promotion and tenure.

Second, in what ways has an association with women's studies affected a faculty member's priorities in research and scholarship, her self-definition within the profession? This question bears, of course, not only on research subjects, but shifts in research time from the production of articles within a field to the development of interdisciplinary curriculum.

The third and related area is the extent to which the non-women's studies courses taught by women's studies faculty have been affected. Oddly, it sometimes appears easier to develop a new course within women's studies than to alter significantly ones within a department in which a faculty member has long taught.

Finally, there is the question of the effect of women's studies on the teaching methods of individual faculty members, both within and apart from women's studies courses. Have there been changes in their mode of classroom organization or style of presentation? Have they altered definitions of course objectives, for example, developing a greater concern for encouraging student interaction as compared with covering subject matter, or vice versa?

Establishing causality with respect to the behavior of one faculty member, even in a number of

courses, obviously would be impossible because many different variables apart from women's studies are operative. On the other hand, causal relationships may be posed if certain effects are noted in numbers of women's studies teachers. More rigorous expectations of student performance seems to be one concern we have repeatedly encountered. Are such expectations general among women's studies faculty, and are they generated by elements peculiar to women's studies as an intellectual discipline?

Throughout the development of women's studies, a small proportion of men have been involved as teachers and researchers. Thus, they would be, as a matter of course, part of any data collection and studies of faculty. We suggest, however, that such information be disaggregated as it is collected so that the impact of women's studies on male faculty can be studied as a separate issue. The reasons for making this suggestion are obvious, but perhaps they bear brief recapitulation. Men are not only the majority among campus faculty; they are also the majority of tenured, older faculty in almost all disciplines. Moreover, campuses will not expand in the eighties, and so we need to consider that significant developments in mainstreaming will occur only if male faculty are engaged in the process of curricular change. It may be of special significance, therefore, to gain an understanding of the dimensions of impact on male faculty engaged in women's studies.

Recommendations on Institutionalization

In one sense, recommendations for studying the impact of women's studies on curriculum and faculty assume the institutionalization of women's studies. However, additional questions of campus structure and policy need to be raised. In considering faculty, for example, we asked how their involvement in women's studies affects their status. But we should also attempt to determine how or whether women's studies has produced discernible shifts in the institutional

standards by which personnel decisions are made. To this end, we recommend the development of a survey of faculty members and administrators key to personnel decisions at a cross-section of institutions to determine the weight they attach to examples of professional work accomplished by women's studies practitioners.

Can one observe a relationship between the status or impact of women's studies and the prevailing definitions on a campus of "academic legitimacy," particularly as manifest in criteria controlling the hiring of new faculty or the promotion or tenuring of existing faculty? Is an individual's scholarship or publication in women's studies in fact, as is sometimes suggested, discounted by faculty hiring or promotion committees? Is publication in Signs or Feminist Studies, for example, taken as less significant than publication in the Kenyon Review or ELH? Is the impressive scholarship involved in developing interdisciplinary coursework in women's studies credited, together with more traditional instances of professional development? Is service on the women's studies advisory committee considered as equivalent to service on a college curriculum committee?

These are sensitive and often rather vexing issues, especially when they come to a head in connection with the firing of an individual. Affirmative action procedures and union contracts have, in some institutions at least, increasingly forced personnel criteria to be made more explicit. But there remain, even in the best situations, vast miasmic areas into which people, indeed whole programs, disappear. It would therefore be helpful, we believe, to approach these issues as part of a broader effort to identify institutionalized procedures and criteria that militate against the development of women's studies, and to discover shifts in such procedures and criteria that indicate positive impacts of women's studies.

In addition, such study should shed light on the relationships between such programs as women's studies or African-American studies and the accomplishment of affirmative action goals. Clearly, it would be a disservice to women and to minority members of both sexes to assume that they should or will come into faculties primarily through women's or minority studies programs: that would obviously produce ghettos. On the other hand, in some institutions, steps toward achieving affirmative action goals have been directly related to the development of such curricular programs, and the retrenchment of such programs may produce directly negative effects upon equal opportunity programs. Although affirmative action hiring procedures are largely independent of women's studies, the reshaping of professional standards in response to the accomplishments of those in women's studies may have important implications for the hiring, promotion and retention of women.

Two other institutional questions cannot be easily defined or studied. But they need at least to be mentioned here. First, to what extent have organizational structures on campuses been altered to accommodate the distinctive needs of interdisciplinary programs in women's studies? Nothing is more discouraging, as a few program reports indicate, than to develop a significant network of courses and faculty, only to find an institution so hopelessly immured in existing bureaucratic structures that it cannot officially acknowledge that a program exists. In some cases, the failure to alter an institution's structure may be less a measure of the impact of women's studies than of a college's rigidity. In most cases, however, some process of accommodation does develop, often step by step, and provides a useful index to the impact of a women's studies program. To phrase it another way, one means for assessing the impact of women's studies is to study changes in institutions that have come about in response to an effort to establish a program.

Still more complex is the question of campus "tone." Many women's studies programs emphasize their aspiration to develop nonhierarchical classrooms and a less competitive academic environment. It seems to us very difficult to assess how well programs have accomplished these ends, much less the extent to which they have succeeded in affecting the general campus environment. It may be possible to inaugurate studies of sex-role stereotypes and patriarchal attitudes on campuses with and without women's studies programs. We would not see such research as being of high priority, however, since the process of attitude change is slow, complex, and poorly understood. And the impact produced by women's studies, as distinct from that produced by the women's movement more generally, would be difficult to distinguish.

Recommendations on Graduate Study

For the most part, we have been discussing undergraduate women's studies programs. Relatively few formal graduate programs exist, and most of these are recent. In general, there appears to be a good deal more resistance to the establishment of graduate programs than to undergraduate programs. That should not come as a surprise, for graduate departments essentially control the parameters of undergraduate education by defining disciplines and what is legitimately examined and taught within them. Although experimental or novel programs may be allowed to attract undergraduate enrollments, one senses considerably more tension over tampering with traditional definitions of graduate study.

Given this situation, we recommend that a national effort be undertaken, either through the NWSA alone or in collaboration with the commissions on the status of women of various professional associations, to locate master's and doctoral students who define themselves as "in women's studies" and to analyze the means they have devised to pursue graduate study in the area.

We expect that such a study will indicate that a good deal of graduate training in women's studies actually proceeds outside the traditional frameworks established by academic departments. An increasing number of dissertations, even within departments, are now devoted to women's studies subjects. Women's commissions and caucuses within professional associations, and such new professional groupings as the Berkshire Women's History Conference, the National Women's Studies Association, and Sociologists for Women in Society, have, in effect, devised means for offering graduate and postdoctoral training. These efforts include intense professional conferences, as well as summer seminars funded by such agencies as the National Endowment for the Humanities.

It may be more useful, therefore, to focus less on graduate departments and to look at the activities of graduate students themselves. Just as many undergraduate women's studies majors design individualized courses of study, so it may be that graduate students, unable to enroll in formal women's studies graduate degree programs, put together courses, seminars, opportunities provided by the professional associations, and distinctive dissertation topics to obtain advanced degrees "in" women's studies.

We would not, in suggesting this approach, ignore graduate departments, either those specifically concerned with women's studies and women's history or the traditional departments. An important measure of the impact of women's studies on the latter will be master's and doctoral reading lists, doctoral exam questions, and dissertation topics and dissertation committee members. It would be helpful to compile such reading lists and questions for 1979-80 and compare them with similar items of 5 to 10 years ago.

Professional associations have always, in some measure, reflected and produced changes in graduate academic departments. A similar process now seems to

have emerged with respect to women's studies, as groupings within or parallel to professional associations have defined and legitimated new research areas and given opportunity for development of those areas. We think it will be revealing to examine the relationship of graduate work, in the broad way we have defined it above, and the efforts made by women's caucuses, commissions, and separate professional groups to redirect professional concerns.

Conclusion: Feminism and the Academy

We conclude with a brief reminder that feminism as a political perspective is still a significant issue for women's studies. The alleged political character of women's studies has been posed as a way of questioning its legitimacy. Programs have often found it necessary to respond to charges that they are political entities, and artificial dichotomies have been posed between learning and doing, consciousness-raising and scholarship, political ideology and academic scholarship.

That women's studies is interested in change no one would deny. That efforts to change curriculum and other academic practices that deny equal opportunity to women are any more political than efforts to retain what exists is an absurdity hardly worth discussing. In our view, neither useful research nor useful insights can develop from such a discussion.

Of deep concern to us, however, is the unexamined political content of many received academic norms. The concept, for example, that coeducation has meant historically equal education for women and men still deludes most educators and students. The concept that existing academic divisions of knowledge and existing ways of organizing disciplines are inherently logical and disinterested also needs examination. The notion that objectivity is a more legitimate academic posture than a frank engagement in efforts to eliminate disease and discrimination still controls the campus.

To such ideas, women's studies has perhaps addressed itself with less than systematic effort. In our view, it is those ideas, rather than the quite overt and often-stated goals of women's studies, that require extended analysis. For in the long run, research about women's studies must be set in the context of a firmer and deeper understanding of the institutions upon which the impact of women's studies will increasingly be registered.

APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA WOMEN'S STUDIES SELF SURVEY REPORT: TABLE OF CONTENTS AND LIST OF PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

Table of Contents

Section	Page
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
General Background Information.....	3
Program Goals and Objectives.....	10
II. WOMEN'S STUDIES BUDGET.....	13
III. WOMEN'S STUDIES CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION.....	24
The Core Curriculum.....	24
Women's Studies Related Courses in Other Units.....	30
The Women's Studies Bachelor of Arts Degree Program.....	32
Women's Studies Course Evaluation and Quality of Instruction.....	34
IV. WOMEN'S STUDIES FACULTY AND STUDENTS.....	49
The Women's Studies Faculty.....	49
The Women's Studies Coordinator.....	50
Administrative Assistant.....	52
Women's Studies Students.....	53

	<u>Page</u>
Advising.....	55
Systems of Information.....	56
Placement of Majors.....	56
V. COMMUNITY SERVICE AND OUTREACH.....	58
Cooperation with Other Units of the University of Minnesota.....	58
Cooperation with Institutions Outside the University of Minnesota.....	61
Sponsorship.....	63
The <u>Women's Advocate</u>	66
Conferences.....	66
VI. WOMEN'S STUDIES FACILITIES AND RESOURCES..	69
Space.....	69
Library.....	70
VII. A PROSPECTUS FOR THE FUTURE OF WOMEN'S STUDIES.....	74
The Future Women's Studies Faculty.....	74
Future Women's Studies Governance.....	78
LIST OF TABLES	
A. SUMMARY OF WOMEN'S STUDIES BUDGET AND EXPENDITURES.....	18
B. SOURCES OF WOMEN'S STUDIES COURSE FUNDING.....	19

	<u>Page</u>
C. SUMMARY OF WOMEN'S STUDIES BUDGET AND OUTSIDE FUNDING.....	21
D. WOMEN'S STUDIES COST PER STUDENT CREDIT HOUR.....	22
E. COMPARATIVE COST PER STUDENT CREDIT HOUR: 1976-77.....	23
F. WOMEN'S STUDIES DAY SCHOOL OFFERINGS: 1973-77.....	37
G. REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN'S STUDIES CLASS SCHEDULING.....	39
H. WOMEN'S STUDIES COURSES/ENROLLMENTS - 1973-74 - DAY SCHOOL, CONTINUING EDU- CATION FOR WOMEN, CONTINUING EDUCATION EXTENSION AND SUMMER SCHOOL.....	41
I. STUDENT CLIENTELE IN WOMEN'S STUDIES COURSES, 1975-76.....	45
J. WOMEN'S STUDIES ENROLLMENT TRENDS: DAY SCHOOL, CEW, CEE, SUMMER SESSION...	47
K. COURSES RELATED TO WOMEN IN OTHER DEPARTMENTS/COLLEGES.....	48
L. WOMEN'S STUDIES COMMITTEE, 1973-78.....	49
M. WOMEN'S STUDIES TEACHING FACULTY (day School) 1973-78.....	50

Women's Studies Program Objectives

1. To establish a "core" multi-disciplinary curriculum including an introductory sequence; a Women's Studies seminar; 3xxx- and 5xxx-level courses of interest to a broad range of students; and experimental topics courses.
2. To develop a Bachelor of Arts Degree Program for Women's Studies undergraduate majors, incorporating courses offered under the Wo. St. rubric and a selected group of courses offered in other University units.
3. To encourage the development of courses about women embodying feminist perspectives in departments and programs throughout the university and to work with those units to revise existing courses to better incorporate feminist perspectives.
4. To provide academic advising and career counseling to students with Women's Studies interests.
5. To evaluate regularly all course offerings in Women's Studies and to actively promote teaching excellence.
6. To develop a supporting program for graduate students interested in emphasizing Women's Studies as part of their research or teaching activities.
7. To promote actively feminist research efforts throughout the university and to provide forums for sharing information about the progress and results of such research.

8. To serve as a primary institutional structure for the dissemination of information about Women's Studies scholarship locally and nationally to audiences within and outside the University.
9. To work cooperatively with other university units concerned with academic advising, counseling, advocacy and programming for women.
10. To establish networks of communication and cooperation with other educational institutions interested or involved in Women's Studies teaching and research.

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2. Programs such as those at the University of Minnesota and the University of Massachusetts/Amherst have been evaluated by the institutional process accorded all "experimental" programs at the end of a 3- or 5-year period. At the University of Arizona, the program's coordinator initiated an evaluation in order to give the program direction; this was done also at the University of Pennsylvania. At Purdue University, on the other hand, an evaluation was requested by one of the deans in order to determine the institution's "readiness" for women's studies.
3. For the most recent listing, see the Women's Studies Newsletter, Fall 1978 (vol. VI, no. 4). A new listing will appear in the Spring 1980 issue.

Section 3

1. At KNOW, Inc., this volume and others in the series it published (II, III, IV, V, and VIII) are still available. Volumes VI, VII, IX, and X were published by The Feminist Press and are still available from that organization.

2. The MLA's Commission also distributed free, in December 1970, a list of 110 women's studies courses entitled "A Guide to Women's Studies."
3. These were published in the form of loose pages that could be added to notebooks. The New Guide to Current Female Studies, edited by Carol Ahlum and Florence Howe, October 15, 1971, was published for the MLA Commission on the Status of Women and disseminated by KNOW, Inc. The Guide to Current Female Studies II, dated October 1972, was edited by Carol Ahlum and Florence Howe and published by the Clearinghouse on Women's Studies of The Feminist Press. These were cumulative listings that did not repeat each other: 524 women's studies courses at 188 institutions were represented in the first collection, and 344 courses at 135 institutions in the second. In the second publication, 45 women's studies programs were also listed as in existence or in formation.
4. Female Studies IV contained seven essays about teaching Women's Studies, including an overview by Elaine Showalter and five bibliographical essays and annotated bibliographies useful for those doing research on women in literature and history.
5. Unfortunately, this series of 10 volumes is still without an index, as are the 9 years of the quarterly Women's Studies Newsletter.
6. Since 1978, the National Women's Studies Association has assumed responsibility for the updating of the list of programs. The next list will appear in the Spring 1980 issue of the Women's Studies Newsletter.

Section 4

1. An important early effort to chart the political history of these women's groups, though not especially focused on women's studies, is Kay Klotzberger's essay, "Political Action by Academic Women," in Academic Women on the Move, edited by Alice S. Rossi and Ann Calderwood (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), pp. 359-391.
2. One useful guide is Arnita Jones' "Women Historians and Women's History: An Organizational Guide," in the Winter/Spring 1977 Women's Studies Newsletter (vol. IV, nos. 1, 2, pp. 11-13). Also see Alison Bernstein, "The Coming of Age of the Berkshire Conference," in the Fall 1978 Women's Studies Newsletter (vol. VI, no. 4, pp. 5-7); and Mary Dunn, "Second Berkshire Conference on the History of Women," in the Spring 1975 Women's Studies Newsletter (vol. III, no. 2, pp. 7-8).
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Section 5

1. In preparing the list of items to be included in a longitudinal data base on women's studies, we have not dealt with types of institutions, but have assumed that we were focusing on 4-year colleges and universities and on undergraduate education. Another monograph in this series (Women's Studies in Community Colleges, prepared by Allana Elovson) calls for data collection on women's studies in community colleges. No monographs have yet been written on graduate education in women's studies, or on the pre-K through 12 years. Any data collection effort might include or omit these additional areas. Our most obvious area of omission, however, is the student. At least two monographs (Women's Studies Graduates, prepared by Elaine Reuben and Mary Jo Strauss, and The Involvement of Minority Women in Women's Studies, prepared by Mareyjoyce Green) have been prepared on students, and each of these calls for a variety of data collection efforts. A third monograph (The Effectiveness of Teaching Women's Studies, prepared by Nancy Porter and Margaret Eileenchild) also touches on this subject. Obviously, the data collection needs and efforts outlined in all of these monographs should be integrated insofar as possible with the efforts outlined in this monograph.

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 Women Educators

Women in Business and Economic History
 Women in German
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Women and Population Studies
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